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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-228 *28 November 1995*

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Bildt Warns of 'Risk of Partition in Bosnia'

AU2711174295 Paris AFP in English
1718 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Barcelona, Spain, Nov 27 (AFP)—The peace accord initialed in the United States last week is no more than a "pile of paper," and Bosnia still risks partition if the accord is not fully implemented, EU mediator Carl Bildt warned Monday.

The political, economic and military "implementation tasks ahead of us are vast," Bildt said at a press conference here on the sidelines of a meeting of EU and Mediterranean foreign ministers. "If we fail, there is the risk of partition in Bosnia."

At the same time, Bildt was optimistic that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic would be able to rein in Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who had threatened a "bloodbath" if Serb portions of Sarajevo are returned to Bosnian administration, as called for in the accord.

"Karadzic has to be tried before the international court," Bildt said, also noting that he was ineligible to stand for election. "He will have to disappear from the scene."

Karadzic and his chief military leader, Ratko Mladic, have been indicted by a UN tribunal for crimes against humanity.

A key mediator in the Dayton, Ohio negotiations, Bildt commented on the fragility of the peace accord—negotiated and initialed by the presidents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia—to be signed by the leaders of all the countries concerned in Paris sometime in the next two weeks.

"We have to coordinate our timetables, but it should take place in the first few days of December," he said.

Several related international conferences are also scheduled in the coming weeks: donor nations will meet next Monday in Brussels to discuss economic reconstruction in ex-Yugoslavia, followed by a meeting of foreign ministers in London on December 8-9 to work out a plan for relocating and settling the region's three million refugees.

Finally, a meeting in Bonn one week after the Paris signing will cover the issue of disarmament.

The implementation of the peace accords and any agreements reached at these other meetings will depend in part on the deployment of an international force of some 60,000 troops, including 20,000 U.S. troops, Bildt noted.

"I hope that President Bill Clinton will succeed" in convincing Congress to authorize the deployment, Bildt said, "otherwise it will be difficult to talk about the leadership of the U.S. in the future."

Czech Republic Becomes 26th Member of OECD

AU2811091395 Paris AFP in English
0026 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Report by Jan Kristiansen]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Nov 28 (AFP)—The Czech Republic becomes the first ex-communist country to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) here on Tuesday [28 November] with the formal signing of an accord on its terms of accession.

The agreement will make the republic the 26th member of the OECD after Mexico, which became the first new member of the organization in 21 years when it joined in May 1994.

The accord will be signed at a formal ceremony at the OECD's Paris headquarters by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and OECD Secretary General Jean-Claude Paye.

The OECD council—consisting of permanent representatives of the present 25 member countries—formally invited the Czech Republic to join on Friday after the conclusion of nearly year-long negotiations that followed a Czech request for membership last December.

The country will become a full-fledged member of the OECD when it deposits its instrument of ratification of the OECD convention at the French foreign ministry after the necessary parliamentary procedures.

The Czech Republic has a population of 10.3 million, with a land area of 78,800 square kilometres, half of which is farm land. In 1994 agriculture accounted for 5.8 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), industry 40.7 percent and services 53.5 percent.

According to OECD projections, Czech economic output is set to grow by about 4.0 percent this year to attain a gross domestic product (GDP) of just over $45 billion, somewhat below Ireland.

The Czech Republic achieved growth of 2.6 percent in 1994, after a 6.4 percent decline in 1992 and a smaller drop of 0.9 percent in 1993.

GDP per capita is expected to be in the area of $4,375 this year, well ahead of present members Mexico and Turkey, and up from $3,500 last year and only $2,713 in 1992.

The OECD considers the Czech Republic's stabilization effort as "remarkably successful", thanks to a consistently prudent fiscal policy pursued by Premier Vaclav

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Klaus, a liberal who has conducted the transition to a market economy with a "firm hand".

The budget has been in surplus since 1993—while huge budget deficits constitute a headache for a majority of OECD governments—and the inflation rate, currently at about 8 percent, is among the lowest in the former communist countries.

The OECD also noted that the republic's unemployment rate of 2.9 percent is the lowest in East and Central Europe, and among the lowest in the OECD area.

OECD officials said the Czech economy is becoming increasingly integrated into international markets, with the European Union its main foreign trading partner.

Exports totalled $14.3 billion last year, with imports running slightly ahead at $14.7 billion, and the current account, which showed a slight surplus in 1993 and was in balance last year, could show a deficit of about $1.9 billion for 1995.

The Czech Republic, as well as Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, have cooperated with the OECD since 1990 under a programme of assistance to reforming economies which was expanded in 1991 to a Partners in Transition (PIT) programme.

OECD officials said this had helped the Czech Republic shape legislation and policy measures needed to meet the requirements for OECD membership.

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Press Reportage Welcomes Bosnia Peace Agreement
AU2411142295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Albanian newspapers of all political hues welcome the Dayton agreement for peace in Bosnia, praise the diplomatic efforts of the United States, and hope that peace in Bosnia will point a way toward solving the question of Kosova.

Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian, the paper of the ruling Democratic Party, carries on 22 November on page 1 a 250-word statement for Albanian Radio-Television by President Sali Berisha under the headline "President Clinton's Historic Contribution." It thanks President Clinton and senior American officials for their "very precious help" in solving the Balkan crisis and says that the agreement expressed the "determination of the warring parties to open a new chapter of cooperation and understanding."

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian, the paper of the opposition Socialist Party, carries on 23 November on page 1 a 300-word editorial, under the headline, "The Messages of Dayton."

The editorial states: "The entire democratic world hails the agreement at Dayton, Ohio, among the warring parties in the four-year conflict in Bosnia, the most serious trial for democratic Europe and the values of peace, security, and European cooperation since World War II. It is for this reason that the Albanian public too has followed with concern the three weeks of talks among Presidents Izetbegovic, Tudjman, and Milosevic.

"Dayton is a very long way from Albania, but the theater of war in Bosnia is very close. Thus, when the guns lower their barrels and troops are called back in Bosnia, the Balkans feel safer, and we Albanians feel safer in the democratic processes in which we are involved.

"The role of the United States and President Clinton personally has been decisive in reaching this historic agreement, just as the United States has played a major role in all the democratic processes and the security and cooperation brought by the winds of change since the fall of communism. We Albanians are very sensitive to the prospects for peace in Bosnia, because this settlement must naturally be followed by a greater international commitment to an agreement that will settle fairly and once and for all the Albanian national question, and the future destiny of Kosova. The path toward this will involve dialogue and respect for the national and human rights of the Albanians in the former Yugoslavia. The congratulations that Albanian President Sali Berisha conveyed to the parties signing the agreement on Bosnia, which as he says opens a new page of cooperation and understanding among the participants, are also laden with the hope that the question of Kosova will find a fair and conclusive solution, rising above the historical injustices, prejudices, and harmful baggage that have long racked the Balkans and their peoples.

"Yet Dayton also carries an extremely topical message for political developments in democratic Albania herself. When parties sit down at a table after the sole means of communication among them has been a war involving devastating consequences; hundreds of thousands of casualties; billions of dollars' worth of economic, cultural, and historical damage; and some 2 million people rendered homeless by the fighting, it is a vital necessity for dialogue, discussion, and consensus to become the way of behavior for all the country's political parties, organizations, and institutions, because this is how we draw nearer to democracy, consolidate the rule of law, and affirm civil and national values. Dayton is a great example from which many valuable lessons can be drawn."

Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian, the paper of the right-of-center Republican Party carries on 23 November on pages 1 and 5 a 900-word editorial entitled "Dayton—A First Step After Four Years of Bloodshed."

The editorial states, "The peace agreement signed yesterday at Dayton may be considered historic in the full meaning of the word, because it opens a new era for the Balkans, so buffeted by the gales of extreme nationalism since the collapse of communism in those countries that were under its imperial sway." The paper nevertheless draws attention to the condemnation of the Dayton agreement by Serbian Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj, and to the continued presence of "discontented ultranationalists" in Bosnia. "The peace achieved at Dayton can only be called a first and unsteady step after four years of bloody conflict."

The paper continues, "There has been no lack of a welcome from Albania and Kosova for this step toward peace in the region. Without in the least underestimating the importance of the Dayton agreement for us Albanians, one must draw attention to the fact that not a single word was uttered at the talks about Kosova or the Albanians in general. The line so far pursued by those who direct the foreign policies of Albania and Kosova has not succeeded in achieving the goal of incorporating the Albanian question in an overall settlement in the former Yugoslavia. Faced with such a fact, it seem that the world is ignoring the existence of an Albanian problem in Kosova, or, worse, is telling Milosevic, 'That's your business.' This view is supported by the fact that the embargo against Serbia is expected to be lifted soon, without a solution for Kosova. It is not a matter of accusing anybody, but of drawing lessons that will serve

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us for the future. The developments of the last four years should have taught those in charge of Albanian foreign policy that political goals cannot be achieved by begging on the doorsteps of the chancelleries of the world or at the various forums where we are represented. This tendency to look to others for everything has no doubt been the reason for the continual changes in our policies concerning Kosova and the Albanians living on their own territories in the former Yugoslavia, By changing our options time and again, we have created the impression that 'the Albanians do not know what they want.'"

Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian, an independent paper with strong ties to the left-of-center opposition, carries on 23 November on page 7 a 900-word item compiled by Jonila Godole, entitled "Peace in Bosnia—An Irreversible Settlement; U.S. Diplomacy and NATO—Factors of Peace and Equilibrium in the World." In this item, Godole asks representatives of political parties to comment on the Dayton agreement.

Albert Brojka of the Democratic Party praises the agreement as "a historic event." Brojka expresses his belief that "peace has now conclusively been signed" and praises the "decisive role of NATO."

Bashkim Zeneli of the Socialist Party praises the "historic victory" of Dayton. He continues, "We hope and believe that the problem of the Albanians in Kosova will be settled in a contemporary spirit, without asking for any change of borders by force in order to realize all the rights of the Albanians living there. The example of Dayton can and must help the Albanian peacekeepers of Kosova to sit down to talk with those of Serbia, with the mediation of a third party." Zeneli also praises "the brilliant combination of the use of diplomacy with NATO."

Paskal Milo of the Social Democratic Party welcomes the "new epoch" opened by the Dayton agreement, but warns of the "fragility" of the peace. Milo believes that NATO forces "must remain for a long time until the necessary equilibrium is attained to create a multinational state in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Petrit Kalakula of the Democratic Party of the Right praises the Dayton agreement as "showing that a halt can be called to the Serbs' insane policies and expansionist dreams not by pleading, but through a determined struggle." He too urges the international community to commit itself to a solution for Kosova, and praises the "extraordinary importance of NATO's role in establishing peace in Bosnia."

Perikli Teta of the Democratic Alliance praises the peace agreement, and hopes that the question of Kosova will be included in future talks, "so that the return of refugees to their homes can also include the Albanians of Kosova."

Sabri Godo of the Republican Party welcomes the Dayton agreement as "a greater step forward than ever before."

KOHA JONE on 23 November also connects the Dayton agreement with "important news for Albania" published in a "recent" issue of the WASHINGTON POST, and carries on page 2 a 500-word report by A. Peza entitled "The Biggest Newspaper of the Capital of the United States Writes Specifically About Albania—Burrel, Perhaps the First U.S. Base in East Europe." Quoting extensively from the WASHINGTON POST, the KOHA JONE report calls the prospect of a U.S. base in Albania "great news," although the paper has in the past carried critical reports highlighting frictions between U.S. servicemen stationed at Gjader in northern Albania and the local population.

Editorial Praises U.S. Role

AU2611155295 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 24 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "The Infant of Dayton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Historic and heroic were the words chosen by President Clinton to describe the peace agreement signed at Dayton by the presidents of three former Yugoslav republics, A. Izetbegovic, F. Tudjman, and S. Milosevic.

The truth is that it only became possible to sign this agreement after the United States, the greatest, most decisive, and virtuous player in the world political arena, intervened powerfully on the pitch.

Washington began to move at a time when it seemed that the tragedy would surpass all bounds and all human imagination, when Europe appeared on our small screens utterly disgraced and humiliated, handcuffed to iron bars by the Karadzices and Mladices, about to dash all the hopes of the peoples, and when the mass graves of Zepa and Srebrenica had become a nightmare for the whole of mankind.

President Clinton used the same strategy that he had promised three years ago in his inaugural address on becoming president of the planet's largest and most powerful democratic country. He then emphasized that he would use diplomacy to solve problems, and when diplomacy did not bear fruit, he would intervene by force. In other words, diplomacy was used with the help of force.

The strategy was to bear fruit in the Balkans perhaps more than in any other region of the globe. Europe's

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discredited "preventive diplomacy" could do nothing in those Balkan capitals such as Belgrade where the clocks had stopped some time about the beginning of the century. In fact, the White House received particular support in this issue from Bonn and from Jacques Chirac's Paris.

Yet has peace really been achieved?

Richard Holbrooke, that negotiator of indefatigable energy who is known as the Kissinger of the Balkans, as well as other politicians and analysts, have all emphasized that the most difficult stage is now beginning. The peace achieved on paper has still not been established on the ground. The Dayton agreement is like a baby. It has been successfully born, but must now grow and embark on life. The difficulties are of various kinds, constitutional and territorial. They include the stand to be taken toward war criminals, and the matter of economic regeneration. However, the United States and its allies are extremely determined. Recalling what Pope John Paul II said during his visit to the United States last month, when he said, "America, you are great: Show your greatness," we might say that once again His Holiness has been prophetic.

Who Lost and Who Won at Dayton?

It is certain that the peace itself is a victory for everybody, just as it is certain that Serbian President S. Milosevic, the initiator and principal instigator of the greatest tragedy Europe has seen since World War II, is the greatest loser. He began the battle at Kosovo Polje [reference to speech by Milosevic on the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1989], and lit the flames first in Croatia and then in Bosnia with the sole aim of creating Greater Serbia. It is this same Milosevic who is now obliged to sue for peace and to order his political bloodhounds among the Bosnian Serbs to pull back, just as those in Krajina did.

A challenge remains beyond Bosnia, in Kosova, where the bloody conflict in the former Yugoslavia began. This conflict can only really be extinguished where it started. The Ohio agreement is a green light for Kosova, too. Otherwise, the war clouds hanging above the bloodstained Balkan landscape will remain dangerously black.

Experience has taught us one thing: All the wars that have started in this region have begun in the Balkans but have not ended there.

Privatization Bonds Sold at 'Ridiculous' Discount

AU2711085995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 24 Nov 95 p 11

[Report by B. Kamenica: "Five Hundred Thousand Citizens Obtained Privatization Bonds"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first phase of privatization concluded with the registration of 4,000 shareholders who have placed their bonds with the first 20 enterprises. However, the Privatization Department of the Savings Bank reports that by the end of October, 500,000 bonds were distributed nationwide, half of them to pensioners. It is striking that only 1.2 percent of the recipients have presented their bonds, while the remaining 496,000 have apparently been reluctant to go to the offices of the National Privatization Agency. The problem becomes more acute when we find moneychangers on the private market cashing privatization bonds at the ridiculous rate of 22.5 percent of their value. A simple reckoning shows that a moneychanger will buy a 15,000-lek bond for 3,000 leks, thus discounting to nothing the 25 years of work which give a person the right to be granted privatization bonds by the state. N. Hoxha, a pensioner, told us at one of the branches of the Savings Bank in Tirana's First District that "The National Privatization Agency should have been better organized and should have provided better information about the distribution of the bonds, because many of us did not have the slightest idea where to go."

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National Assembly Supports Dayton Agreement

AU2711150395 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Nov 95 p 7

["National Assembly Declaration" on Dayton agreement, adopted by 23 November National Assembly session]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria greets the Dayton agreement on peace and regional stabilization in former Yugoslavia, which represents an important stage in the efforts to stop the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II, and marks the beginning of constructing the long-awaited peace. The comprehensive implementation of this agreement will contribute to asserting security in the region and will reveal great opportunities to develop international cooperation in the Balkans and Europe. This is the goal that the UN Security Council resolutions of 21 November 1995 on suspending the sanctions and gradually lifting the arms embargo pursue.

The National Assembly expresses Bulgaria's expectations for a lasting stabilization of the Balkans through applying the measures of strengthening confidence and security, controlling arms and armed troops, guaranteeing human rights, and resolving the refugee problem.

The mutual recognition of the states that emerged as a result of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, as well as their recognition by third states, will be an important factor in stabilizing the Balkans and preventing new conflicts.

Bulgaria felt the consequences of the sanctions especially sharply. Therefore, we insist that the UN Security Council adopt decisions on accelerating the lifting of the sanctions as an integral element of applying the Dayton agreement and developing the peace process.

Bulgaria has not been compensated for the losses suffered as a result of strictly implementing the economic embargo. This allows us to insist on priority participation in the programs on developing and restoring the region for all states that were strongly affected by the embargo, and which lie next to the sides that participated in the conflict. Bulgaria is prepared to make its contribution to the international community's peace efforts and to be an active participant in working out and implementing a plan on the regional economic restoration and stability, something that will facilitate asserting a climate of security and cooperation in the Balkans.

Cabinet Decree on Lifting FRY Sanctions Issued

AU2811123895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Decree No. 226 of the Council of Ministers, adopted after the UN Security Council last week lifted the trade sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], has been published. This is what Kiril Tsochev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade and foreign economic cooperation, said:

[Begin recording] A comprehensive war, which threatened world peace and Bulgaria, has ended in neighboring Yugoslavia. This really is a wonderful fact.

Our government reacted immediately and already on Friday, 24 November, adopted Decree No. 226, which today has been published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. The decree has two important articles. The first annuls Decree No. 10 of May 1992 on a ban, restrictions, and special measures envisaged in trade-economic relations between Bulgaria and the countries of former Yugoslavia. The other article deals with Decree No. 16 of the Council of Ministers, which continues to be in force. It is related to Resolution No. 1021 of the UN Security Council, concerning the strict observance of the regulations regarding the supply of arms, ammunition, and military equipment to the countries of former Yugoslavia.

Naturally, we expect that the decree we adopted will mark the beginning of normal trade between our countries, something we did not have in recent years. [end recording]

Minister Tsochev rejected the accusations that we are lagging behind other Balkan countries in restoring normal trade contacts, and said that a Bulgarian trade delegation led by him will visit Belgrade on 11-12 December.

The Yugoslav companies, especially those involved in production, need, first of all, raw materials, of the type we do not have, Mr. Tsochev said. According to him it is possible to market oil products, chemicals, and cigarettes in the FRY. We also have the opportunity to participate in supplying the 60,000 peace troops that will guarantee the application of the peace agreement.

According to Mr. Tsochev, the most important thing is to prepare well for the 11-12 December Brussels conference, at which the participation of the separate states in restoring former Yugoslavia will be coordinated.

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Zhelev Supports Protesting Radio Journalists

AU2411132295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with a protest declaration signed by 34 journalists from the Khorizont Program of Bulgarian National Radio, a statement issued by President Zhelev's spokesman declares that the president has repeatedly warned against the growing incidence of censorship in the national electronic media. President Zhelev shares the alarm voiced by the Khorizont Program journalists and is convinced that without freedom of speech all civic rights and liberties are myths. It is high time for the National Assembly to pass a television and radio bill that would prevent the danger of the national electronic media becoming party propaganda offices, evidence of which has been steadily accumulating in recent weeks.

President Zhelev has invited the 34 journalists of the Khorizont Program who sent their declaration to him yesterday to meet him for talks tomorrow.

At its meeting today, the Parliamentary Commission on Radio, Television, and the BTA considered the declaration issued by the 34 Khorizont Program journalists, in which they accuse the management of administrative interference in the preparation and airing of programs and of imposing its dictate in the selection of news for the news broadcasts. The commission voted to set up a six-person working group to examine the circumstances described in the declaration. It was arranged for the working group to meet the journalists who signed the declaration in the national radio offices tomorrow to listen to their arguments. Vyacheslav Tunev, director general of Bulgarian National Radio, has stated that during the forthcoming renewal of employees' contracts only professional qualities will be taken into consideration, and that the journalists who signed the declaration have no reason for anxiety if they possess high professionalism.

The commission rejected the draft resolution submitted by the Union of Democratic Forces that called for the dismissal of Ivan Granitski, director general of Bulgarian National Television. This information was provided by our reporter Zlatina Georgieva.

VMRO-SMD Leader Views Relations With SDS

AU2811110895 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Nov 95 p 9

[Interview with Krasimir Karakachanov, VMRO-SMD cochairman, by Valeriya Krusteva; place and date not given: "There Will Be Cruel Compromising Attempts During Presidential Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Krusteva] Mr. Karakachanov, are relations between the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies [VMRO-SMD] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] strained because of the support the SDS rendered the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] during the elections in Kurdzhali?

[Karakachanov] Our relations are not strained. Our reaction to this support was predictable, precisely as the SDS support for the DPS in the second round was predictable. Ivan Kostov [SDS leader] promised this already before the first round. We think that this precisely was where the SDS erred, because this preliminary promise sharply diminished the number of votes it got in Kurdzhali. The final result was that the SDS received a bit more than 1,000 votes, something that consolidated its position as a second-rate power in the mixed regions. This inconsistent policy toward the DPS is the reason for the fact that already for the fourth mandate period the SDS has no deputies in four okrug cities—Kurdzhali, Turgovishte, Razgrad, and Silistra.

Our positions remain unchanged—they are based on specific principles. For us, the DPS is an ethnic party that does not correspond to the requirements of the Bulgarian Constitution. In addition, in the last 5-6 years this party repeatedly changed its political direction, first supporting the SDS, and then the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. In fact, this formation is serving more the interests of the DPS leaders, than the interests of part of the Bulgarian population, especially, where religious and ethnic principles are involved. This is why we cannot make any compromises with any ethnic formation. You see that many people assess the SDS support for the DPS in Kurdzhali as a mistake.

[Krusteva] Was the voting in Kurdzhali ethnic?

[Karakachanov] Yes, it was ethnic, and there actually was no other choice. The basic political force—the DPS—nominated a Turk for the post of mayor, and he faced several Christian Bulgarian candidates. A total ethnic voting emerged in the second round, when the BSP candidate was supported by many formations not because he was a BSP candidate, but because he was a Bulgarian.

[Krusteva] Some people say that BSP's intensive campaign in Kurdzhali resulted in stabilizing and strengthening the DPS. Do you accept this claim?

[Karakachanov] The DPS and the BSP benefited from the campaign in Kurdzhali, while the People's Union and the SDS lost. Why? By playing the ethnic card

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and invoking "Stalingrad," Ahmed Dogan achieved two things: First, he again inspired his voters with the confidence that the DPS is the only champion of the rights of Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria, who are being threatened by the Bulgarian political parties. Second, he totally succeeded to assert his influence in Kurdzhali. Let us not forget that Dogan was persona non grata in this region at the time when Mehmed Hodja split from the DPS. I would like to remind you that Dogan succeeded in asserting Rasim Musa as a candidate only as a result of great pressure, and with a majority of only one vote. Thus, the ethnic campaign resulted in restoring Dogan's personal positions in Kurdzhali.

On the other hand, by playing the ethnic card itself, the BSP again succeeded in presenting itself as a formation that is guided by Bulgarian national interests. In practice this is not so. During the time of Berov [prime minister after the resignation of the SDS cabinet led by Filip Dimitrov] the country was ruled precisely by the BSP and DPS. Yes, the BSP precisely calculated the benefit from an ethnic campaign in Kurdzhali, and made full use of it. At the same time, the SDS and the People's Union lost their influence in Kurdzhali as nationally thinking political forces. [passage omitted]

DPS Mayor Musa Denies Forming 'Turkish Colony'

AU2511143795 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 47, 20-26 Nov 95 p 8

[Interview with DPS Mayor of Kurdzhali Rasim Musa by unidentified 168 CHASA correspondent; place and date not given: "I Will Not Be Forming a Turkish Colony"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [168 CHASA] Will you be offering to shake hands with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] after the election battle?

[Musa] I am not a vindictive person. The elections were a contest and now we are resuming our daily work.

[168 CHASA] Did you deliberately speak Turkish at your election meetings?

[Musa] No, but many elderly people cannot understand what is said to them, so that I had to speak in Turkish. There was no element of bias in this.

[168 CHASA] What do you say to charges that you are creating economic autonomy?

[Musa] Our eyes are set inwards, toward Bulgaria, not abroad, and I have no idea who dreamt up this autonomy idea.

[168 CHASA] The Bulgarian population fears that when Turks take over the local government, Turkish capital will also start flowing in. What is your comment on this?

[Musa] Time has shown that no such investment exists. We have been in power for four years and the region has not become a Turkish colony.

[168 CHASA] Will you appoint someone from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] as deputy mayor as a gesture of appreciation of the support that they gave you?

[Musa] We are going to hold talks and it is likely that one of the deputy mayors will be from the SDS.

[168 CHASA] How will you work with the BSP councillors?

[Musa] I am familiar with the lists and see signs of continuity. I assume that politics will predominate at the first council meetings, but with the passage of time the BSP will also gradually settle down.

[168 CHASA] They are attacking you through the courts; what do you say about this?

[Musa] The previous DPS mayor could not start work for three months because a similar complaint was made to the court. I, however, am starting work. It is a matter for the court to decide.

[168 CHASA] Surely the oblast administrator is supposed to ratify your appointment?

[Musa] He cannot refuse, because I hold a certificate from the electoral commission that shows I am the mayor. It only remains for him to sign a formal contract with me.

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Klaus on Reticence About Sending Troops to Bosnia

AU2811114495 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Nov 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 23 November: "Mlynar Came as a Surprise"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Martinkova] Your opinion regarding the deployment of Czech troops in Bosnia seems rather more reticent than the stand assumed by the president and the deputies. Why?

[Klaus] Let us differentiate between the procedural and actual sides of the matter. I am defending the procedural reticence now. The government tasked the ministers of foreign affairs, defense, and finance with drafting a proposal on how to deal with the affair. This document has not yet been prepared, has not yet materialized. I have not seen it. So, everything is at a stage of hypothetical preliminary talks. In this sense, as prime minister, I must be reticent and cannot say anything definite that I would have to retract later because it would not correspond to the drafted government document. If this document is completed, the government will discuss it in its next session. [passage omitted]

Imports Continue To Grow Faster Than Exports

AU2811093595 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Nov 95 p 7

[Report by "rum": "Export Increase Continues in Foreign Trade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The turnover of foreign trade from January to September was 19.3 percent higher than for the same period last year. Imports grew by 29 percent, and exports by 9.3 percent. In the third quarter alone, the dynamics of imports reached 22.1 percent and exports 12.7 percent. The total volume of imports reached 394.3 billion korunas [Kc], which is almost Kc89 billion more than in the first three quarters of 1994. The value of exports increased by Kc27.8 billion during this period, to a total of Kc326.1 billion. The balance of trade showed a deficit of Kc68.2 billion, with a July deficit of Kc7.7 billion, and August record deficit for the year of Kc10.8 billion and a September deficit of Kc4.5 billion.

The share of total trade with countries with developed economies amounted to 63.2 percent of the nine-month turnover. The share with EU countries was 56.1 percent, while that with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] member countries was 2.2 percent. Countries with transitional economies participated in Czech trade at 30.8 percent (the Slovak Republic—14.5 percent), developing countries 5.2 percent, and countries with state-controlled trade 0.8 percent.

In comparison with the same period last year, imports grew the fastest from South Africa (by 93 percent), Singapore, and China. On the other hand, imports from Romania and Canada moderately declined. Exports to Southern Korea rose the most (163 percent), followed by South Africa and Brazil. On the other hand, exports declined significantly to Hong Kong (60 percent), Egypt, and Great Britain.

The most important trade partner for the Czech Republic remains the FRG, with a share in the trade that rose from last year's 27 percent to 28.9 percent. The share Slovakia reached this year was 14.6 percent, Austria 6.9 percent, Russia 6.5 percent, and Italy 4.9 percent. The largest share of imports was from the FRG (26 percent), Slovakia (13.2 percent), and Russia (9.2 percent). Our closest Western neighbor also had the largest share of our exports. Some 32.4 percent of Czech exports went to the FRG, 16.1 percent to Slovakia, and 6.7 percent to Austria.

In the structure of foreign trade according to the groups of goods, the share of imports of industrial goods rose 1.6 percent during this year in comparison with the nine months of last year, to reach 17.9 percent of total imports. The share of machines and vehicles rose 0.8 percent to 35 percent, and chemical imports rose from 13.3 percent to 13.7 percent of the total. On the other hand, the share of mineral fuel and lubricants declined from 10.8 percent to 9.7 percent, and various finished goods 0.8 percent to the current 10.7 percent. Except for the beverages, tobacco group, where year-to-year imports dropped 16.4 percent, imports rose in absolute terms in all of the groups.

In the structure of exports, the share of industrial goods increased, above all, as it rose from last year's 30.3 percent to 33.1 percent. The share of machines and vehicles declined in comparison with the three quarters of 1994, from 26.1 percent to 25.4 percent. The value of exports rose in six of the 10 groups. The decline in exports of the animal and vegetable fats and oils group was the most marked.

Tamara Reportedly Not Selling, Hard To Operate

AU2511143695 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by "gag, km": "The Unique Tamara Is Hardly Selling"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Despite the Tamara passive radar system being a unique reconnaissance tool

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capable of concurrently minitoring almost 80 air targets, it has not been selling for five years.

Since 1989, the radar's manufacturer, the Pardubice state enterprise Tesla, has managed to sell Tamara only to Oman. The already privatized Tesla has negotiated another sale this year to Kyrgyzstan. Therefore, many arms manufacturers' representatives believe that the future production of this radar is in jeopardy. Tamara inventor Vlastimil Pech shares this opinion.

"Even a work of genius that does not sell will disappear," he said.

Several arms industry experts, who refuse to give their names so as not to be accused of unfair competition, claim that the radar manufacturer is not strong enough to survive the years of freeze on Tamara exports, for which they hold the United States responsible.

However, diplomatic sources consider the freeze of Tamara exports under pressure from the United States to be nonsense. According to them, the United States does not resort to such steps. A high-ranking officer of the Czech intelligence service claims, however, that the report on Tamara's capabilities made the United States very anxious four years ago. Nevertheless, the officer admitted that the United States today knows that Tamara is not capable of monitoring the flight path of invisible aircraft if they do not emit radio impulses.

Following General Oldrich Barak's statement four years ago that Tamara can also identify invisible aircraft, the U.S. Congress stopped financing the development of another A-12 aircraft with special equipment to absorb radio waves.

"Barak wanted to make a commercial for Tamara to increase the chances of exports. In fact, however, he did Tamara a lot of harm," Vlastimil Pech said. "He promises potential customers something the radar cannot and will not be able to do."

After leaving the Army, Gen. Oldrich Barak became one of the owners and director general of the firm manufacturing Tamara. Before 1989, the United States made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain Tamara, through Poles or Hungarians, for instance. Eventually it obtained the radar through Oman. The software of the radar is so complex, however, that, without several months of special training, it cannot be operated. Tamara inventor Vlastimil Pech claims that the United States has never managed to put it into operation. Therefore, it expressed interest in cooperation with the Czech Army. Before 1989, Tamara had only been exported to the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Syria. A total of 50 systems of the Tamara type and its predecessor Ramona have been sold for 5 billion korunas.

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Meciar Envisions OECD Membership in 1997

LD2711233295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2300 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak Republic should become a member country of the OECD in February 1997. The prime minister told the participants in the conference on small and medium-sized businesses in Bratislava's Forum Hotel that Slovakia has submitted to the OECD countries its program of approaching the most advanced economies of the world. He stressed that we are setting up all the material, legislative, economic, and financial conditions in order to be accepted, as well as political conditions.

Meciar Aide: West 'Fomenting Tension in Slovakia'

MS2411114295 London THE TIMES in English 24 Nov 95 p 15

[Article by Michael Binyon: "West Accused of Trying to Raise Slovak Tensions"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A close political associate of Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak Prime Minister, yesterday accused the West of fomenting tension in Slovakia by its accusations of misgovernment and political manipulation.

Ivan Gasparovic, the chairman of the parliament, said many Slovaks doubted whether their country was really wanted in Nato and the European Union, after the tough warning delivered to Mr Meciar by European Union foreign ministers last month. He said that these warnings, echoed by the United States, were "creating dangerous, inner-political nervousness and tensions."

His defiant remarks come in the wake of a public warning from Hans van den Broek, the EU Commissioner responsible for ties with Eastern Europe, that the recent record of violations of political and human rights in Slovakia had jeopardised the country's early entry into the Union. He said that member states would not tolerate political abuses that included harassment of the opposition and alleged political corruption.

It has emerged that Britain has withdrawn a privatisation adviser in protest at what is seen as the political manipulation of the denationalisation programme to reward supporters of Mr Meciar's Government. David Douglas, the adviser, one of two who were originally sent to Bratislava, was recalled in June when Slovak plans for mass privatisation using coupons were withdrawn.

Mr Gasparovic yesterday also criticised a resolution by the European Parliament deploring recent political trends in Slovakia. A member of Mr Meciar's ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, he told a visiting delegation from Strasbourg that Slovakia now doubted the West's sincerity in promising to open negotiations on EU entry.

British officials make no secret of their dismay at what are seen as high-handed authoritarian tactics by Mr Meciar to quash political opposition. His campaign to force the resignation of President Kovac has included government pressure on all civil servants to sign petitions calling for his removal.

The Government in Bratislava has also blocked an inquiry into the security services which are accused of kidnapping Mr Kovac's son earlier this year, drugging him and dumping him across the border in Austria with a tip-off to police in Germany, where he is wanted for questioning over drugs and financial irregularities.

Comment on Meciar's Response to Western Criticism

AU2811101395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by Marian Lesko: "More Sad Than Ridiculous"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Meciar never concealed that the European Parliament [EP] resolution [of 16 November] injured not only the honor of his government but also his personal honor because "no conclusions should be drawn without the affected side being able to deliver its opinion." Since then, he has repeatedly been saying: "Give us the chance to defend ourselves!" On 23 November he was given that chance, so let us have a look at how he used it.

After lunch, when he received the EP deputies in his office, he said that several facts from their recent resolution were not true and that it was no problem for the government to demonstrate some instances of untruth in the resolution. But in the late afternoon, in his address to the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EU and the Slovak Republic, he surprisingly declared: "I do not want to engage in polemics about the contents of the resolution; may its authors engage in them with those who supplied them with arguments." This attitude is incomprehensible. If the EP members received incorrect arguments from someone else, is this a reason for the prime minister not to provide them with correct arguments? From whom are they supposed to learn them, if not from him? The EP deputies were not given the chance to learn the Slovak prime minister's businesslike arguments about where their resolution errs, but they received another "explanation" instead.

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According to Vladimir Meciar, Slovak opposition has refused to cooperate on fundamental issues and, instead, is supposedly trying to "solve problems with the help of foreign entities." For an answer to the question of what the prime minister meant to say, we have to return to his 21 November television interview. When Peter Susko asked him whether he accepts that, had certain things not occurred in Slovakia, there would have been no need for any demarches, Vladimir Meciar disagreed: "New ones would come. If a pretext is sought in this disputed area and has to be balanced out somehow..." [sentence incomplete as published] When the amazed reporter asked whether the prime minister believes that the EU is looking for pretexts to be able to send us demarches, Vladimir Meciar replied: "No, our lobbyism, which is losing support at home, is looking for support among friendly structures abroad...." It is unbelievable, but Vladimir Meciar seriously claims that the real reason we received the demarches and the EP resolution was party lobbyism by the Slovak opposition. This explanation is ridiculous and sad at the same time.

It is ridiculous because the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] chairman comically overestimates the influence of opposition politicians on the decisions of individual European governments, the EU as a whole, and EU parliament members. The idea that Messrs. Carnogursky, Moravcik, Weiss, and Bugar have such an irresistible influence on executive power in the United States, Germany, Great Britain, or France is simply ridiculous. On the other hand, the prime minister's interpretation also has a sad dimension because he indirectly accuses the authors of the demarches and the resolution that they adopted weighty statements because, for party reasons, they let themselves be manipulated by their friends from Slovakia.... The idea that the United States, 15 European governments, and the independent deputies of the EP are ready to express their concern and critical attitude toward the situation in Slovakia only because it is someone's wish does not say anything about the true reasons for the demarches and for the resolution, but it reveals a great deal about the politician who publicly makes such a statement....

After journalists, the trade unions, or the bishops, foreign countries also have thus "joined the opposition." This, too, is both ridiculous and sad. But it is more sad than ridiculous.

Policy Changes Expected in Wake of Demarches

AU2611171695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Ivan Horsky on an interview with Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Committee; place and date not given: "Not Saying the Truth Would Be Treacherous Because Everything Eventually Comes Out"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Asked what the Slovak side, particularly members of the government coalition, expect of the first official meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EU and the Slovak Republic, which will open in Bratislava today, in light of current political developments, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee replied: "We expect the fulfillment of what the Latinists call *Audiatur et altera pars* (May the other side also be heard out), we expect to have the chance to discuss individual points that are part of the European Parliament [EP] resolution [of 16 November]." As Dusan Slobodnik stressed in this context, "It was not by coincidence that the point on the language law was deleted from the resolution draft. Apparently, this happened after they learned in the EP that even opposition deputies, with the exception of the Christian Democratic Movement and the Hungarian Coalition, had endorsed the bill." In his opinion, "it will not be all that difficult for the government coalition to find arguments to counter each point of the resolution and to submit facts refuting the accusations contained in the EP resolution."

This concerns, first and foremost, the position of ethnic minorities. According to Dusan Slobodnik, when he explains this issue anywhere in the world, his arguments are accepted. "The position of the Hungarian minority exceeds the position of any minority in the world, with the possible exception of southern Tyrol. But even there, there are points that representatives of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia would scarcely accept." In this context, Mr. Slobodnik spoke about the teaching of German and Italian by teachers who are native speakers of German and Italian. [passage omitted]

Since the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee broached the subject of problems between Slovakia and Hungary, a question about ratification of the treaty signed by the prime ministers of the two countries logically followed. He reacted to this problem as follows: "It is just a hypothesis, but I am quite convinced of its veracity. If Slovakia were aggressive toward Hungary and if, before the ratification of the treaty, Slovakia made statements such as, for example, Mr. Duray, that the law on the state language passed by the National Council of the Slovak Republic is fascistic and they will not respect it, if we declared that, after the treaty's ratification, Slovakia will be protecting power in relation to Slovaks in Hungary, or if the state secretary of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs made statements such as Mr. Tabajdi, the Hungarian state secretary, or others, and if we turned the situation around, I believe that

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the Hungarian parliament, too, would have reservations about the treaty's ratification. And I can imagine how people such as Mr. Csurka and Mr. Torgyan would react to such, fortunately nonexistent, Slovak statements."

Mr. Slobodnik elaborated further on this issue when he said: "We remember that Slovakia had such a protecting power once before, in the years 1939-45, and we know how it all ended with Slovakia and also with this *Schutzmacht* [protective force]. It is therefore natural, in our opinion, for us to assess such views, which does not mean that we are hesitant or that Slovakia does not want to ratify the treaty." [passage omitted]

In conclusion, we asked Dusan Slobodnik how the government coalition would react to the demarches and to the EP resolution because even he, during numerous stays abroad, indicated that it is necessary to set right some matters that already happened, be it the replenishing of some parliamentary committees with opposition members or other measures that should rid the coalition of unpleasant criticism of its policies. "Certain progress will be achieved, in my opinion. We take the resolution and the demarches seriously. Someone only wants to give the impression that we were opposed. However, and that is natural, we are justifiedly of the opinion that Slovakia should be approached in the same way as other states. I assume that, in the foreseeable future, there will be a change of the situation in some bodies in which the opposition is not represented. But do not expect me, who deals with foreign policy issues, to comment on this because, by virtue of my position, I am not competent to do so, to issue statements in the name of the whole parliament." [passage omitted]

"I only say the truth. I never make up anything when talking to foreign partners. I realize that it would be very treacherous to say something that is not true because, if it came out—and I claim that everything comes out eventually—the partner would tell me that I was lying to him and that he does not trust me. I am trying to explain even unpleasant things," Dusan Slobodnik said.

BBC Interviews President, Prime Minister

LD2711192495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by BBC editor Tim Hewel; place and date not given; from the "Focus" program — recorded; Hewel's questions are summarized by an unidentified announcer]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday afternoon, the British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] broadcast the "Focus" program featuring Slovakia and giving air time to Slovak President Michal Kovac and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. In the spirit of objectivity and neutrality, the BBC editor put the same questions to both officials and did not comment on their answers. Editor Tim Hewel opened the interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with a question on the prime minister's popularity:

[Begin recording] [Announcer] How do you explain your popularity?

[Meciar] I am searching for ways in which to help people, and I do not pursue things that cannot be fulfilled. It is to my advantage that I am able to speak to simple people in a language that is easy for them to understand. Intellectuals sometimes find this a difficult task.

[Announcer] The next question is on the topical issue of the European Union and U.S. demarches. (?Getting) demarches from the European Union and the United States is a very serious matter, and it is very unusual when a Central European country is sent a diplomatic note of this type. According to some foreign observers, you have in your reaction taken this issue somewhat lightly.

[Meciar] On the contrary, our reaction was very responsible, and it assessed the demarches with regard to the whole complex of present and future relations. Considering the fact that the demarche is an expression of the will of only several countries, we believe that the real status quo should have been taken as the basis for any considerations. Before any position is taken, the country, its government or the legislative body, should be given an opportunity to express its view on the matter. We have not been granted this opportunity. Hence, we assess the demarche as being issued without any prior consultation with the legitimate government or the legitimate representatives of its legislative body. We were granted the right to defend ourselves and to explain matters only after the demarches were sent.

We are not hiding the fact that there are some internal political problems, just as in all other postcommunist countries, but if demarches take sides, they become the cause of and deepen the existing internal political tension.

If, on the basis of a demarche, the president claims that the West supports him and therefore he has the right to organize the overthrow of a legitimately elected government, I must ask whether this is the aim pursued by the European Union in its demarche.

The decision on EU membership must be a decision made in a referendum by the majority of our people. One of the component parts of our policy is to prepare

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our people for this decision so that the result is positive. In many countries, the decision was made by a slim majority. From this point of view, the demarche is counterproductive because, as a result, people get the impression that once again somebody is making decisions about us without us.

[Announcer] Does the Slovak Government accept at least some of the objections quoted in the demarche as being justified?

[Meciar] The problems are our internal problems. We are dealing with them, and we are resolving them in a very responsible and democratic way. Nor will they be resolved in any but democratic ways. They would have been tackled in this way regardless of there being or not being any demarche. It is true that parliament is working on a majority principle, but in a democratic way. The government functions. The courts are independent. There is a problem concerning how the presidential function is performed, but this is a problem of a particular person, not a problem concerning the function. Personal failure cannot be considered a failure of a democratic system.

[Announcer] Respecting the principle of objectivity and the plurality of opinion, let us now give the floor to Slovak President Michal Kovac and his views on democracy:

[Kovac] Democracy is still very fragile in all postcommunist countries. We have set up democratic institutions and a pluralist system, but in many ways we still carry the burden of the old totalitarian way of thinking and behaving. The demarches do indeed express real concerns with regard to a specific situation. They do not result from any error or insufficient knowledge about our situation or from insufficient dialogue between the representatives of these countries and the government.

[Announcer] What, in the president's view, is the source of most serious concerns about a threat to democracy in Slovakia?

[Kovac] It is the insufficient control over the power of the current government. Moreover, the government tried to have the opposition almost totally excluded from mechanisms of control. There is one important tool of public control over power: the media. Public institutional media, such as Slovak Television and Slovak Radio, should not be supervised solely by the government, but also by the opposition and the public at large. At present, these mass media serve predominantly the interests of the government coalition.

Another important control mechanism is the special control body [OKO] supervising the work of the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS]. This body, too, is completely in the hands of the government coalition representatives. Let us consider privatization. This is currently being carried out without any possibility for the opposition or the public to have any control over it. It is being carried out, so to say, within the Cabinet [kabinetny sposob]. Many deputies for the ruling party are under pressure to vote not in accord with their own consciences, but according to orders from the party leadership.

[Announcer] [Passage omitted] Yet another question emerges here, that of who bears responsibility for the existing situation—that is, for the internal political situation and for its impact on Slovakia's image throughout the world.

[Meciar] There are enough indications to make it possible for us to prove that the president violates the Constitution and disrupts our democratic system. In this situation, the National Council of the Slovak Republic, which is our legislative body, is entitled to decide on this. There is a big group of deputies that wants the parliament to deal with it, to enforce it. So far, no decision has been reached.

The other issue is that, if it all goes beyond a mere suspicion of high treason, the only body entitled to decide in this matter is the Constitutional Court. The government has not intervened in this matter and will not intervene in it, though it is true that after parliament's no-confidence vote in the president, the government has taken the same step.

[Kovac] It is impossible for one person only to bear responsibility for all these things, without other people—that is above all, deputies—assuming responsibility as well. Another issue is whether this is done voluntarily or involuntarily. However, all of those voting in favor of antidemocratic steps bear their share of responsibility. Many experts, political scientists who are not linked to any parties, hold the view that Meciar's main aim is to stay in power at any cost.

[Announcer] [Passage omitted] Why are Slovakia's West European partners so alarmed by Slovakia?

[Meciar] Other states establishing a democratic system of power have also experienced problems with presidents. It is true that we have established ourselves as a democratic state, but in a number of European states, while they have recognized us, many officials have not taken to the newly emerged state of ours. We have emerged as an unknown entity because the Slovak state previously existed only in the 1938-45 period, and this made many ask themselves whether we are going to behave as fascist, oppressing the minorities, and whether we shall manage. Given the fact that decisions were always made about us without us, some politicians are

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still influenced by this, and nowadays, when they are losing or have lost support in our country, they look for support abroad. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, in this way our internal problems are being aired abroad. The president, who is clearly losing support in our country every day, goes abroad to cast doubts on Slovakia's orientation by declaring that we want an orientation toward Russia. Our feeling is that West Europe is gullible enough to swallow everything. [passage omitted]

Information naturally flows through diplomatic channels as well, and in this sphere we especially follow closely the activities of Great Britain in a number of institutions. It has not offered us any help and, instead, voices doubts on every possible occasion.

[Kovac] During my visits abroad, I never encountered any enemies. On the contrary, I met politicians and statesmen who have expressed and continue to express their friendship toward the Slovaks, the Slovak nation, and Slovak citizens. [passage omitted]

I know well a number of English diplomats who used to work or still work here at their embassy in Bratislava. I also know a number of politicians who really show a genuine interest in developing good relations with the Slovak Republic, a genuine interest in supporting Slovakia in its efforts to join the European and security structures.

[Announcer] [Passage omitted] Let us join BBC reporter Tim Hewel in asking the following question: Making a more general point, is it dignified to have such a personal clash between the prime minister and the president?

[Meciar] I would not treat this as a personal clash. I have nothing to do with the president, my powers are outlined by the law, and I exercise them. The president says that he is (?able) to cooperate with the parliamentary majority; the president refuses to cooperate with the government. He has not met the foreign minister for a working meeting for 11 months now. Both the parliament and the government have expressed a vote of no-confidence in the president. All the heads of the central bodies of the Slovak Republic have taken a vote of no-confidence in the president. Yes, this constitutes moral and political pressure, but it is not anticonstitutional pressure.

[Kovac] It is difficult to work in such conditions. It is not because I am unwilling to meet ministers; it is because they avoid meeting me in order to show solidarity with the prime minister. I feel sad about this because I perceive it as a revival of a behavior previously forced upon people by the communist regime. This is in fact the most alarming aspect of the situation in which we have found ourselves—the fact that servility is called for and that people increasingly begin to fear to express their own independent stances and views. It is natural for people to hold different views. However, Meciar and many of his supporters, perhaps unknowingly, follow a communist slogan that whoever is not with us, is against us.

Personally, I feel more and more that it is my responsibility to survive in my post in order to be able to publicly point out mistakes and shortcomings. Deep down, I am firmly convinced that I act in defense of the truth, freedom, democracy, human dignity, and justice, and that on these issues I cannot retreat. In my soul I am even prepared for a temporary defeat, for a forced removal from my post. Despite this, I am convinced that democracy, freedom, truth, and justice will sooner or later prevail in our country. [end recording]

HZDS Deputy: Kovac Lied to Swiss Newspaper

AU2511151995 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 23 Nov 95 p 3

[Statement by Roman Hofbauer, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, deputy and chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Economy, Privatization, and Business: "Continuation of Lies in BASLER ZEITUNG"]

[FBIS Translated Text] BASLER ZEITUNG, an influential Swiss daily, published on 10 November 1995 an interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac. Among other things, President Kovac made the following claims about Slovakia in the interview:

The government majority has taken steps that limit democracy and lead to authoritarian rule. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and his party have a very vulgar idea of parliamentary democracy. The secret service and the sphere of competence of the Justice and Interior Ministries are outside parliamentary control. The prosecutor general considers himself subordinate to the prime minister. The government has seized control of public service institutions such as television and radio. Citizens' access to objective information is severely restricted. Privatization as carried out by the government is extremely unjust and dangerous. In connection with the abduction of his son, the president said that everything possible is being done to prevent the affair from being investigated.

The above statements are full-blown lies. Switzerland is a state with deep traditions of freedom and democracy. Such negative lies about Slovakia, told by a president about his own state, therefore defame our republic in

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an exceptionally severe way. Switzerland is not only a world financial superpower, but also one of the UN host countries, which gives such statements on its soil particularly negative weight.

By these claims, President Michal Kovac is consciously and deliberately damaging the Slovak Republic, defaming our democratic social system, discrediting the freely elected parliament and the democratically constituted government, and grossly offending Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. In this way he only documents that he has distanced himself from his own state, at whose head there is no place for him.

Schenk Urges Ratification of Treaty With Hungary

LD2711213595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk gave a short briefing today at which he announced that, in accordance with the promise made by the government and parliament, a ratification process of the basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and Hungary had been started. Between tomorrow and 1 December, the draft treaty will be discussed by all 10 National Council committees. In this context, Minister Schenk made the following short statement:

[Schenk] Key talks will be held in the foreign committee. Once the treaty has been discussed by the committees, it will be put on the agenda of the December session of the Slovak National Council.

There is the political will on our side to ratify the basic treaty, in which the settlement of our relations with Hungary should culminate, and to codify this important contribution toward the stability in the Central European region.

The ratification process still faces several unsettled issues, above all regarding the steps taken by the Hungarian Government in reaction to the adoption of the law on state language by the Slovak parliament and as regards some views put forward by the Hungarian parties in Slovakia. The most pronounced example of the latter is a statement made on 19 November on Kossuth Radio by Pal Csaky. He said: Autonomy is a vital necessity for the Hungarian communities living outside Hungary. The Hungarian Government needs to back this emphatically and decisively defend this line of argument also in the international forums.

Such attitudes are unacceptable. As regards minority issues, the Slovak Republic only respects and recognizes individual civic rights, those rights that are in line with current European standards. We have not accepted a duty toward anything else, and we will not implement anything else.

It is necessary to say enough to irredentist attempts.

Meciar Views Hungarian Relations, Language Law

AU2511190395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Nov 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas on an "exclusive" interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava; date of interview not given: "Meciar: The Indignation Is Unjustified—The Slovak Prime Minister's Interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the Language Law "]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, the majority needed to approve the basic treaty has already been formed in the Slovak parliament, but Budapest's steps, which Bratislava finds objectionable, could lengthen the ratification process. Meciar dealt with this and other current issues of bilateral relations in the exclusive interview he gave to our Bratislava correspondent.

Meciar emphasized the significance of bilateral relations for our countries and for Central European stability; unsettled relations could be an obstacle for both of us in our catching up with the European structures. However, as for the language law, he does not consider this issue to be of such significance that would justify the Hungarian Government's action. In his view, this is the first time agreement was achieved in Budapest between the government and opposition parties (namely in connection with the language law), but, as he says, this is against something they do not even know.

Meciar took special exception to the fact that the Hungarian foreign minister had already outlined Budapest's planned steps in the international arena, although he is not familiar with the text of the law accepted by the Slovak parliament. He added that it would be a cheap measure on the Slovak side to react to this with information on the situation and continuing assimilation of the Slovaks living in Hungary. "I do not believe that this would correspond to the spirit of relations we started to establish between our states with Mr. Horn," he pointed out.

We raised the point that the language law withdraws a 1990 legal regulation on the use of minority languages: According to Meciar, this was done in the spirit of the relevant passage of the Constitution accepted in 1992. "The situation of the Hungarian minority will not be made worse by this," he claimed. The former law only ensured the national minorities' right to use their own language in places where their number exceeded

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20 percent, and now, according to the Constitutions, they will be able to do this in the whole country. The codification process has not been ended with the state language law; it is expected that the European charter of minority languages will be accepted and that the language law(s) recommended for the minorities in Slovakia will be discussed.

Meciar asserted that the democratic mechanisms are functioning and that those who are dissatisfied with the law can turn to the Constitutional Court and then can even request legal redress at the international institutions. For this reason, we consider the Hungarian Government's announced steps unnecessary because they cannot exercise the law instead of others, he underlined.

During the prior consultations, experts of the Council of Europe suggested that the Slovak parliament discuss the bills on the state language and the use of minority languages together. However, according to Meciar, this would not have been expedient because [Coexistence Movement Chairman] Miklos Duray ("who is pressing for the introduction of official bilingualism") or Pal Csaky, Hungarian Christian democratic parliamentary group leader, and others would have interpreted the government's proposals according to their own considerations anyway.

Meciar spoke rather severely about Slovakia's Hungarian politicians and said that he can show concrete proof of their irredentism and their separation efforts. In his view, Duray would declare the resurrection of Greater Hungary as a program. Meciar complained that, in the 1992 Slovak parliamentary debate on the constitution, the Hungarian deputies did not show any willingness to declare that they wished to remain citizens of this country. "Instead of objective communication, they called us fascists," Meciar added. After all this, the government cannot be blamed for the lack of dialogue.

In connection with the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, Meciar explained that they had already indicated their schedule to the Hungarian side when it was signed. Slovakia first accepted the European charter on minority rights because the basic treaty also takes this as a basis. The necessary votes had to be ensured in advance, and this has now been done. Two parliamentary forces refuse their support for the basic treaty: the coalition member Slovak National Party and the Hungarian coalition. In his view, in the case of the latter, the rejection of the basic treaty as an international measure in principle is the reason rather than the language law. Returning to Budapest's planned campaign in connection with the language law, Meciar warned: "If the Hungarian Government and parliament take steps that we consider offensive, this could prolong the ratification process. However, we will ratify the basic treaty in any case."

In connection with the European Union and the European Parliament's letter sent to Bratislava, which was rather condemning on national minority issues, Meciar noted that the first EU demarche in 1994 had dealt with B [illegible] [Danube dam] issues, but this proved to be unnecessary and overhasty. The recent messages evoked a certain amount of indignation from the addressees, he continued, because they contained inaccuracies and reflected not Slovakia's development but one kind of interpretation of it, and their senders had not consulted legitimate representatives of the Bratislava government and parliament. "If these demarches give the impression of a finger raised to threaten, this is a bad indication for the referendum (on EU membership) because we have already experienced such threats in history," Meciar stated, calling it astonishing that Hungarian diplomacy "chose precisely this time to make an attack" on Slovakia. "At the time, I warmly welcomed Mr. Horn's statement that he is a prime minister of 10 million Hungarians. Compared to that, a retrograde step seems to have been made. I would like to hope that this is just an appearance," he emphasized.

Are you planning another meeting with your Hungarian colleague? we asked. Meciar explained that he and Horn had made an agreement on continuing the personal meetings. There are always plenty of problems, and not only in bilateral relations. "We will act jointly in certain programs toward the European Union, we will also have to consult on these, just as on the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] issues or on setting up a Central European security model.... In my view, we are still able to settle our unsolved problems, for which I am willing to have a dialogue anywhere and at any time. If there is anything I highly appreciate, it is the fact that our talks with Mr. Horn have always proved to be fruitful, while he protected Hungary's interests just as consistently as I protected Slovakia's," Meciar said in his interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

Report Gives Results of Democratic Party Congress

AU2511203195 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Juraj Alner: "By Electing Jan Langos Chairman, the Democratic Party Has Formally Returned to Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvolen—The delegates to the congress of the Democratic Party (DS), which was held in Zvolen on 18 November, elected Jan Langos new party chairman by a wide margin of 167 to 46 votes. In

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the subsequent vote of the first deputy chairman, Peter Osusky, his countercandidate and hitherto party chairman, received the votes of all delegates. After three years, the DS has thus formally returned to parliament: Langos became National Council of the Slovak Republic member in last year's elections on the ticket of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] as representative of the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute (SKOI) and not as DS representative. Ivan Brndiar (original DS member), Kolonay Pronay (whose federal Greens merged with the DS two years ago), and Ivan Miklos and Frantisek Sebej (both from SKOI) became DS deputy chairmen. Helena Wolekova became chairwoman of the Ministerial Club (its members are former government members for the Public Against Violence movement and the DS) and Peter Zajac became chairman of the Consultative Board. The professional core of the DS, which is at present gaining a clear profile as the sole party of the civic right, has thus been formed.

In the Political Program that the participants in the congress approved on 18 November, the DS defines itself as a conservative, nondenominational party that simultaneously embraces the liberal values of a democratic law-governed state and free-market economy. The term law-governed state is defined in the program as the consensus-seeking government of all citizens. The basic document addresses all aspects of politics and the economy. It places special emphasis on the continuity of historical relations with the Czech Republic, upholds the Slovak Republic's entry into NATO even before EU membership, and demands the Slovak Republic's closest possible ties to NATO and EU member countries, with special emphasis on the role of the United States. In the sphere of public administration, the program enforces decentralization and a change in the system of taxation, and, in the sphere of culture, it rejects ideological criteria and demands the consistent plurality of independent media.

In his letter of greetings to the congress, President Michal Kovac described the DS as a real alternative for citizens. Guests from Hungarian parties (Hungarian Civic Party and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement) highlighted in their speeches the chances of cooperation among citizens regardless of different nationalities.

The DS will seek membership in the European Democratic Union (of which the KDH already is a member) and regards as its closest Czech partners Klaus's Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Alliance (Kalvoda, Dlouhy).

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 20 November on page 4 carries a 500-word "DS Congress Statement," adopted in Zvolen on 18 November. The statement includes the following passage: "The DS Congress emphatically rejects the policy of the present government coalition. The approval of the law on agricultural property, which deprives legal owners of their property, and the approval of the law on the state language, which is anticonstitutional, directed against users of Slovak, Czech, international languages, and the languages of ethnic minorities alike, demonstrates once again the government coalition's contempt for laws and the rules of the civilized world.

"The DS Congress profoundly condemns the outrageous and absurd linkage between the European Parliament and Nazi Germany and the Brezhnevite Soviet Union, established by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Public Opinion Department, which ranks the HZDS among political entities outside European norms and standards.

"The DS Congress calls on Slovak Information Service Director Ivan Lexa to resign from his post, on the basis of facts accessible to the public, until the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction is investigated.

"At the same time, the DS Congress calls, in the name of democracy, for the cooperation of opposition political parties. It offers alliance to the KDH and cooperation to the nonsocialist part of the political spectrum (Democratic Union, Hungarian Coalition) as well as to the Common Choice as an alliance of standard political parties."]

Coalition, Opposition Agrarian Parties To Merge

AU2511203795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by "ba": "Merger Process"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zilina—A joint working meeting of representatives of the Farmers Party of Slovakia [RSS; member of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia parliamentary group] and the Farmers Movement [HP; member of the opposition Common Choice parliamentary group] took place in Zilina on 18 November. The joint meeting was another step by the two political entities toward the formation in Slovakia of a single political organization representing this professional group. The overwhelming majority of the more than 300 RSS and HP representatives attending the meeting expressed the will to participate in the unification process. At the same time, the participants in the working meeting declared that the merger of the two political entities would serve as an example of the possibility to cooperate and formulate and implement related programs on a professional basis and would contribute to alleviating the

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polarization of Slovak society. The merger of the two political entities will be consummated well ahead of the coming parliamentary elections. RSS Chairman Pavel Delinga and HP Chairman Jozef Klein told us after the meeting that, until the merger, both entities will remain members of their present coalition alliances, in conformity with the coalition agreements they signed.

Meciar on Mine Privatization in Central Slovakia

LD2411225195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Slovak Government is on a visit to the Prievidza district in the Horne Ponitrie region. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Ondas] The government has focused its attention on key regional problems. Because of the decline of overall production, the slow transformation, and a decrease in coal mining, there are 8,239 unemployed in the region. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar met local officials this morning, and after that he focused on the problems encountered in the mining and power industry. Speaking at a briefing he also answered questions on the privatization of mines in the Horne Ponitrie region and on the development of the region's fuel and power industry.

[Begin Meciar recording] [Passage omitted] It has been agreed that two approaches will be implemented in the privatization of the region's power and mining industry.

The first approach is to be implemented in the privatization of the Horne Ponitrie mines. We will keep our word given in the election campaign, that the employees of these companies—that is, the miners—will get the mines for one Slovak koruna. To be exact, the value of investments needed in a company has been calculated. So, in fact, the employees will buy this mine for the value of these investments, and, because this has to be a purchase, the value of these investments will be increased by the symbolic one koruna.

The machine industry that is linked to mining will be treated separately. It will be privatized at the same time as the mines but by a different legal method. The pricing and payments will be set in a somewhat different way.

This alternative is acceptable and was well received. Mine employees and the citizens of Prievidza will receive state privatization bonds and will be able to exchange these bonds for shares. [passage omitted]

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Keleti Sees 'Benefit' in Peacekeeping Participation

LD2711203795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has been very tongue-tied in advance of the parliamentary decision [scheduled for 28 November]. He has only said that NATO will be pleased if the technical units of the Hungarian army also take part in the peacekeeping mission. The reporter is Vera Klemanovits:

[Begin Keleti recording] [Passage omitted] So far, the Hungarian Government has officially been asked for such help by the U.S. Government only. It will serve Hungary's basic interests if a permanent cease-fire comes about near its borders and administration [as heard] is established in Bosnia as a settlement of the conflict, and the warring parties learn to live together sooner or later without the presence of foreign troops. If these things are really in Hungary's interests, then I think it is natural that Hungary is to contribute to the success of this mission. The first and the third points say that peacekeepers to be stationed there will get logistics provisions from Hungary and prepare for their tasks during their short spell here.

Naturally, the Hungarian Republic will get recompense for this help and other services from the American side. Talks are already under way on this. Everybody knows that all countries taking part in peacekeeping pay for their own expenses. However, there are other aspects as well. It is also a direct—let me call it—benefit for the Hungarian army that it will be able to form very close cooperation with the NATO units. I think the presence of the American soldiers in Hungary means that cooperation between the American and the Hungarian armies and between the United States and the Hungarian Republic will enter a qualitatively higher level. [end recording]

On Stationing NATO Troops

LD2811130795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The National Assembly's foreign affairs and defense committees are backing plans to allow NATO units to pass through Hungary en route to Bosnia, and to allow NATO aircraft to be based here, as well as use Hungarian airspace and airfields. At the same time, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti confirmed that NATO would like Hungarian army road and bridge building units to carry out security duties.

I am linked with Gyorgy Keleti by telephone. [passage omitted] Is is correct that a Hungarian technical unit, or units, will go to Bosnia?

[Keleti] [Passage omitted] The Hungarian Government has confirmed several times that it does not want to send Hungarian soldiers as part of an armed, that is, peace-enforcement force. Only the dispatch of a unit—not units—responsible for security duties.

[Announcer] John Shalikashvili, the U.S. chairman of joint chiefs-of-staff, said recently that NATO soldiers of the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia may use their weapons first in certain dangerous situations. What will happen if the Hungarian soldiers get in such a dangerous situation? Are they considered NATO soldiers, and can they use their weapons?

[Keleti] Naturally, every soldier represents his own nation. They will carry out their duties in a NATO contingent under a united command. If Hungarian soldiers go there—as I said before, for security duties—their protection will be provided by other countries' troops. Gen. Shalikashvili has spoken about this. This is a situation where peace enforcement may become necessary. I do not think Hungarian soldiers can get into such a situation because, as I said, they would exclusively carry out security duties.

[Announcer] With me in the studio is Robert Pik, professor of military science and chairman of the Internal Policy Research Center.

Major General [Pik], what do you think it will means to Hungary to have American soldiers stationed here and passing through the country, and also having Hungarian technical units possibly going to Bosnia?

[Pik] [Passage omitted] It seems to be necessary to have a protective shield above us, and we have been striving to join NATO for a long time. By joining any organization one gives up some sovereignty. The establishment of a base in Hungary is a deposit for this. [passage omitted] The second point is that throughout Hungarian history soldiers have been sent abroad in a number of cases, and this never had a good ending. Where there are a significant number of weapons pooled, and units are sent for security duties, I do not think that a conflict can be avoided. I do not think it is realistic to send soldiers for security duties without weapons.

[Announcer] Minister?

[Keleti] I think these are the kind of things members of the parliamentary parties have to discuss with responsibility. I do not think it is a sort of deposit that Implementation Force troops, as representatives of NATO,

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will be stationed in Hungary. A contribution to peace is at issue. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] A last brief question: In the present situation can Hungary turn down this possible admission ticket to NATO and any participation in peacekeeping?

[Keleti] The Hungarian Republic's parliament will make an entirely independent decision. [passage omitted] It can make such a decision I think. However, yesterday's discussions in the parliamentary committees showed that in connection with the passage of Implementation Forces, the deputies understood that the Hungarian Republic has to contribute to this peace.

[Announcer] Maj. Gen. Pik?

[Pik] Only the Hungarian parliament can decide on this.

Spokesman Views U.S. Request

LD2711144095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States has asked for Hungary's help to create the legal conditions for the transit and communication of NATO troops to supervise the Dayton agreement on Bosnia, foreign affairs spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi confirmed today. However, he could not confirm that Kaposvar would become the Americans' headquarters in Hungary, or that talks have already started there. Pecs has been also mentioned, but Kaposvar seems more likely regarding military transport considerations.

The transit and the setting up of the headquarters would cost the Hungarian Government nothing, but they would bring political and—in the long term—economic benefits, too, the foreign affairs spokesman said.

Parties' Positions Given

LD2711191595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A member [Jenoe Poda] of the Hungarian Democratic Forum said the majority of his party supports the idea of sending a technical unit to Bosnia. The Christian Democratic People's Party, the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party, and the Hungarian Socialist Party also support the idea. Jenoe Poda said the Independent Smallholders' Party opposes the idea of deploying a road and bridge construction squad there. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] is of the view that Hungary should stick to the attitude vis-a-vis the Bosnian crisis it has assumed so far. Judit Laszlo reports.

[Laszlo] The SZDSZ parliamentary group thinks the general Hungarian stand that our country is not undertaking the role of an armed peacekeeper in neighboring countries should not change, head of the parliamentary group Ivan Petoe said in connection with the latest NATO request.

NATO asked Hungary to provide a technical squad and armed escorts for the international peacekeeping units to help the settlement of the southern Slav crisis. SZDSZ wants parliament to decide only on what a six-party consensus has already reached. This includes permission for the international force to cross Hungary and set up a base here.

Horn Comments on Party Tensions, Government Issues

AU2811083795 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Nov 95 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Lorinc Szendrei and Gabor Toth; place and date not given: "Congress—in the Squeeze of Crises"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Delegates of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] are gathering for a congress in Miskolc today. The bigger government party's conference will take place among internal tensions and increased public attention. The country's mood and the perspectives of families have significantly deteriorated since the 1994 elections. Society and the economuy and, consequently, the coalition government and the MSZP are struggling with a multitude of crises.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Mr. Prime Minister, you are also chairman of the MSZP. From this dual position, what are your views on the relationship of the party and the government?

[Horn] An unclear relationship has evolved between the government and the party. One reason is that we had to put many of our talented people into government positions, parliamentary functions, and local government positions. Various levels of the party have practically been emptied, which is a major problem. For this reason, it is essential for me to convince the congress that we need a new system of creating cadres and ensuring replacements. As for the tension between the party and the government, this mostly applies to the party's elite, rather than the entire party. Every day, statements—so called from within—are appearing from them which are barely different in their views on the government from those of the opposition. It is all right that the government is severely criticized from within the party, too, but, in my view, we are also blamed unjustly. They say that this government is acting with haste and it improvises. In fact, they have even started to say that it is arrogant, which is impermissible and unacceptable for me

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and for us. I know that the tensions, which have accumulated in society, affect everyone. What would make a government which has to bring unpopular measures, popular? It is obvious that the situation can and has to be improved; nevertheless, at the congress I would like to achieve a halt to the postmortem on a living body.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Many people find it difficult to digest the contradiction that the Socialist party is a left-wing party, but the decisions stemming from the daily and long-term economic and political constraints are contrary to left-wing ideologies and philosophies.

[Horn] I have always represented left-wing values. However, it has to be seen that if we do not put the country's affairs into order, no kind of interests will prevail. In that case, a very damaged democracy or possibly anarchy is awaiting the country. There is a general belief that socialist and social democratic governments are permissive in welfare and other areas. It is no accident that when a social democratic government comes to power in West Europe, the number of strikes and protests increases. They also start from the premise that a left-wing government will give in more easily and it is more receptive to their demands. Something similar is going on in Hungary, too. However, there is an important difference, because here we have to destroy the old and replace it with something new at the same time. For example, we have to question decades-old rights in the entire welfare provision system. The reason is that the necessary economic performance did not exist behind the previous system! On the other hand, it is a fact, rather than a commonplace, that this government inherited an empty treasury and huge payment commitments on debts. Here, in this country, if we ever want to implement something, this can only be done at the expense of certain social strata. Investments increased significantly in 1995, and a fairly good improvement is shown in the GDP. As for the establishment of capitalism, it makes a lot of difference—and I wish to talk to the congress about this—what kind of capitalism we are creating. I would like to achieve a community-type capitalist system like the one that operates in neighboring Austria, Germany, the Scandinavian states, and some other countries.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What do you mean by community-type capitalism?

[Horn] A system in which the institution of social partnership truly exists and functions.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] One can hear with increasing frequency from the public that the Socialists have forgotten their election promises and given up their program. Even within the party, many people are talking about a self-surrender and a schizophrenic state of affairs.

[Horn] I would like to make it clear that it is out of the question that we have given up our program. Preparing for the congress, we compared the government program's contents with, for example, the March stabilization measures. Everything that was said in the government program in connection with the economy is in complete accordance with the March measures. Debates and differences exist in the welfare provision systems and the welfare restrictive measures. However, we are also continuously ready for correction in connection with these. It has to be realized that crises have to be handled in Ozd, the railways, and many other areas. If the government does not intervene and work out programs, then a serious upturn will never be achieved in the nothern and eastern counties, for we know what serious social problems they have. I have read through the speeches made in the election campaign and before; we never promised a fast and easy improvement. We promised an honest governing and putting things in order. It is unrealistic, to say the least, to question us about the government program now when we have only just begun the reform of state administration and putting the financial and economic sphere in order. I attend many public forums, I meet people at least once a week, and I cannot at all sense the mood shown by some members of the party elite. The decisive majority of people—I can confidently say this because this is my experience and I can also read this in the newspapers—agree that very serious and radical changes are needed. At the same time, they are full of complaints. These are all concrete complaints and usually refer to economic and welfare issues.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Do you mean to say that some sections of the party elite are more dissatisfied than society or the public? Is this the reason we have witnessed the formation of various platforms in recent months? Do you think that these debates also hide ill-concealed power ambitions?

[Horn] In my view, certain people—and this indeed only applies to a few individuals—try to raise their own psychological crisis, and perhaps ambitions, to the level of party program. This is unacceptable. I would add that there are many honest and conscientious people in this party who find it difficult to tolerate the personal "crumpling," resulting from the fact that the citizens have many complaints. I will also add a third element: It is not enough only to support a financial and economic stabilization program in principles. It also has to be supported when it comes to the concrete facts, especially when they affect their own area, position, and profession. Well, the party membership justifiably

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demands that the party leadership should come to its senses. I also agree with this, and I wish to put forward concrete proposals to the congress in connection with this.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Let us mention four names from the party's higher leadership: Imre Szekeres, Sandor Nagy, Laszlo Mate, and Sandor Csintalan. From time to time, their statements, attitudes, manner, and political attitudes are rather different. One is mentioned as your most faithful arms bearer, while another is often said to have excessive career ambitions, and that he is mobilizing the party's certain groups and platforms because he is aiming for your position. What relationship do you have with these politicians?

[Horn] This party has always had quite different tendencies, platforms, and sections. This is not a new phenomenon. At the same time, no one is a sacred cow, and no one should be treated as such, either. This party does not have irreplaceable people. And, if necessary, everyone has to stand the test.... I do not feel any kind of individual career ambitions in these four colleagues. This could be due to the fact that I am too occupied by governmental tasks. However, my opinion is that we need all four of them.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Asking you about individuals seems to be unpleasant for you....

[Horn] It is not. As a matter of fact, when we have problems with someone, we should not send messages via the media. The solution is to sit down and try to have a clarifying debate and an agreement.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Nevertheless, a third of the government has been replaced in a year, quickly and unexpectedly. Do you think that this will continue?

[Horn] Out of the five government members, four resigned voluntarily. I only initiated the replacement of one, namely, Laszlo Pal [former industry minister]. I am definitely sorry for three out of the four, and I tried to convince them to change their decisions. I did not do this in the case of the former finance minister which was largely due to the various debates. I continue to appreciate the resigned ministers but, to be honest, let me note that those who continue to carry the responsibility of governmental tasks deserve at least as much appreciation. I find it strange, although I understand, that as soon as someone leaves this government, his or her popularity suddenly increases.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Are you planning further changes in the government?

[Horn] The coalition partner is also ready to agree to certain structural changes. I would be happy with this but I do not want to force them. For me, the viable road is to take steps for which I do not need coordination. I am primarily thinking of strengthening the Prime Minister's Office. An economic policy team will by all means have to be formed in the Prime Minister's Office. The purpose is to be able to better prepare our decisions, rather than to weaken the Finance Ministry's role.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Would you give its leadership to Sandor Nagy?

[Horn] Gladly. I appreciate and value his wide-ranging expertise. He is an excellent economic politician, his opponents also recognize this. However, it is too early to talk about this....

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Are you not afraid that the coalition debates, which have been "put on ice," will again flare up because of this?

[Horn] I am not talking about a ministerial appointment—this would indeed be a coalition issue.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] However, this means an evasion of the SZDSZ....

[Horn] Not at all. I do not interfere in whom they employ at Merleg street [SZDSZ headquarters] or in the ministries run by them.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Why do you not interfere in it? After all, you are the prime minister?

[Horn] A situation has somehow evolved in which it is not tactful to use my constitutional rights.... It was the previous government, rather than me, who changed the Constitutions in such a way as to give almost unlimited powers to the prime minister of the day. This might change when the new Constitution is completed but this is the current situation.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] On 20 November, on the morning radio Ivan Vitanyi said that there is nothing wrong with the prime ministerial sphere of authority and legal power because President Clinton does not have more rights than the Hungarian prime minister, either. Therefore, both this and the coalition agreement should be left alone.

[Horn] This is Vitanyi's personal opinion which, naturally, I do not share. He is disregarding a fundamental, tiny difference, namely, President Clinton—as far as I know—does not have a coalition government.... The structure of our government would also be different if we had not entered into a coalition.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Does this mean that you have come to the point where you wish to use all segments

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of the prime ministerial powers ensured by the Constitution?

[Horn] I have, but in the interest of the country or better governing, rather than my own. For example, I do not actually have the right to relieve a minister from his office if I am dissatisfied with him, unless the coalition partner also agrees.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] One can find the intention to "regain" this right in the collection of theses published by the government on 18 November....

[Horn] Actually, I only have such a right now in connection with the Socialist ministers. Of course, in principle, I also have the right to replace the others, but this needs a consensus. But I do not want to break the coalition apart with such issues. I am striving for coordination and understanding with them too, but one should be aware of the fact that this is very difficult.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] In other words, you are dissatisfied with the activity of some coalition ministers. Could we name the most criticized minister, namely, Gabor Fodor?

[Horn] I participated in several population forums recently; for example, in Szbolcs-Szatmar-Bereg county, the participants are dissatisfied with this ministry. I defended the cultural minister, even if the press reported the event differently. When I am dissatisfied with someone, I regard this as our internal affair, and I first clarify matters internally and hold consultations internally, and refrain from sending messages.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The news of and demand for developing a chancellor-type government structure appears with increasing frequency in our political public opinion. How do you envisage such a structure?

[Horn] We are not talking about providing the prime minister with unlimited power. Those who understand this under a chancellor system are mistaken. For example: I want to put the Prime Minister's Office in charge of codification activity. Based on this, the ministries will submit their concepts, the Office carries out the codification, and then the bill gets back to the relevant ministry, and then a proposal is formulated, a proposal that will be submitted to the National Assembly. Many people, and not only opposition deputies, justifiably criticize the weakness of these bills....

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Jozsef Torgyan regards both the bills and the overall activity of the government as unacceptable. Do you think that advanced elections will indeed have to be held?

[Horn] I do not think so, but nothing can be certain. On the basis of my experience, I can say that the bulk of Hungary's population continues to regard our country's situation soberly and wisely, without big words. I receive much encouragement to continue the current policy.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Obviously, this does not mean poverty, unemployment, and increasing subsistence problems. It seems that dictatorship is quietly creeping back under the oppressing weight of all this....

[Horn] Such big changes generally took place under a dictatorship in the course of history, including the small tigers in Asia and Chile. Well, this road is not for us. Whoever tried a dictatorship here would become fully isolated. The political public opinion in Europe—and I could also add the United States and Canada here—is so sensitive to any antidemocratic phenomena that any attempts to use dictatorial means would automatically lead to tragedy.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What can you, the prime minister, or your party say to calm the people and the country on the short term and for the unforeseeable future?

[Horn] At one of the leading MSZP forums, an opinion emerged according to which real progress in Hungary will begin in about 15-20 years. Well, if these were our prospects, I would immediately step down. But this is not true. Look at our 1995 results: The first signs of a change have emerged. We reached a two-digit increase in investments and industrial production. This is the first time in 30 months that the volume of our exports exceeded that of our imports. This is also the first time that unemployment fell under 10 percent. I just reviewed the data on the establishment of many tens of thousands of jobs. And I could go on and on.... We are approaching the conclusion of development programs directed at decisive sectors and making it easier for the backward areas to catch up. These programs will bring quite tangible changes and improvement within two or three years, and not in 15 or 20 years, or after the turn of the century.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] However, or in spite of all this, huge social strata lack hope and a future image. There are serious shortcomings in the dialogue and communication between the government and society. How do you want to improve this?

[Horn] It is not easy to popularize or "convey" the government policy. Certain positive things or data showing progress only receive one or two lines in the press. You journalists only like sensation....

[MAGYAR NEMZET] There is enough of that around the government as well: Demonstrations and strikes.... Some people say that, based on your conscience, you

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might as well have marched among the demonstrators when they criticized the government....

[Horn] Of course, this did not even cross my mind.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Do you think that the increasing tension will lead to an explosion?

[Horn] I am convinced that we must come to an agreement with the social partners. The almost two-hour talks with the trade unions operating in the human sphere on 21 November served this purpose. We agreed to try to develop a consensus. The essence of this consensus is that Hungary cannot allow the constant deterioration in the situation of public employees. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the government said this for the first time in the past five years. We want to provide guarantees for this but, of course, this does not mean that we will accept wage demands of several hundred billion forints.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Will there be another surprise decision like the one on 12 March this year?

[Horn] I hope not. We can only introduce the whole series of reforms—including the reform of health care, public education, and university education—with many months of preparatory work, and the three sides, namely, the government, the professional organizations, and the trade unions will play a decisive role.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] We already talked about Bill Clinton. Recently, you received letters from the U.S. President and the French president. What is the value of such friendly messages?

[Horn] Friendly messages are worth a lot, and let me tell you that this was not the first letter from Bill Clinton. It is extremely important for me that the U.S. Administration genuinely deals with the East-Central European region, including Hungary, and not only on the level of declarations and statements. This means a lot. First of all, because U.S. investments here are huge, actually the biggest. I would add that they are special in the sense that they come with almost exclusively job-creating investments. I am also aware of the concern according to which we will totally depend on foreigners if we privatize the big strategic sectors. These are useless worries. The United States and the EU member states will play a decisive role in the privatization of large strategic firms. However, I would like to calm those who are worried by saying that the prevailing Hungarian Government will continue to play the decisive role in the strategic sectors, either in the form of proportion or in other forms. So, for example, it will be impossible to move in shaping prices without the decision of the prevailing Hungarian Government. Also, our euro-atlantic integration ideas would remain illusions without U.S. support.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] You did not get a letter from Meciar, though.... Do you think that your Slovak partner has let you down? Is it worth negotiating and discussing at all in this way?

[Horn] It is worthwhile, but it is difficult. He stuck to his opinion that this language law fulfilled the European norms. I denied this. I told him that we would ask the opinion of the expert of the Council of Europe.... Unfortunately, this also applies to several neighbors. It is extremely unfortunate that, at the end of the 20th century, in some neighboring countries, measures against the minority are regarded as a means of forging the majority nation. In these countries, irrespective of party affiliation, almost every political trend shows a similar attitude on this.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] If bilateral relations become tougher, as happened in the wake of the Slovak language law, will you support more strongly the representatives of ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders?

[Horn] We must take great care not to throw the baby out with the bath water. It also belongs to the truth that we have also reached considerable progress in the Hungarian-Romanian relations. I mean not only the political contacts, but also the fact that the turnover of goods registered a twofold increase, the volume of Hungarian investments in Romania exceeded $100 million, and there are more than 450 mixed enterprises operating there. Economic cooperation can play a decisive role. We must trade, rather than quarrel. At the same time, we should make Europe and the entire civilized world understand that the Hungarian-Romanian or Hungarian-Slovak tensions are not the result of bickering without cause. I often come across such simplifying opinions. The Hungarian Government or the Hungarian National Assembly cannot keep silent when laws are legislated that limit the rights of national minorities. The art of politics lies in formulating our objections and forcing our partner to make changes, if necessary, with the assistance of international forums; at the same time, we should not allow a break in our bilateral contacts.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] So we stick to the protection of the rights of ethnic Hungarian minorities but, meanwhile, according to many opinions, Hungary is also only a quasi-sovereign state, because it is totally dependent on the decisions of the international financial world....

[Horn] First of all, I would like to make it clear that there is not a really sovereign country in the world. Although it is the first world power, the United States also has to adjust to the opinion and demands of the

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international community. We want to join the European Union. This is the main goal of this government. We will start the membership talks in the first half of 1998, and most EU members agree with this. The minority has to be convinced, and this is not an easy task. For example, EU membership demands that we should reduce the budget deficit, settle the balance of payments, and totally guarantee the functioning of the system of market economy institutions. And I have not mentioned other things here. EU membership has very firm and concrete conditions. So this is also a forced path. But I do not regard this as unacceptable, because this is fully in harmony with our efforts. If we fail to make use of these possibilities, no man on Earth or God will save Hungary from lagging behind for good.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] While you will debate on such issues, on Europe, on the world at large, and on future prospects during the coming weekend, people are counting their money quite prosaically. Christmas is coming and everyone would like to shop and give presents. In your opinion, how much money does a family with two children need to have a pleasant holiday?

[Horn] In my opinion, a family with two children needs at least 20,000-25,000 forints for a better Christmas holiday. Of course, this estimation is not for luxury items.... I admit that I cannot imagine this will happen to everyone in a short time. In my opinion, we can expect tangible improvement in 1997, and we might be talking about a level approaching that of Europe's developed countries by the turn of the century.

Polish President-Elect on Regional Cooperation

LD2411213095 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The new Polish president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, has given an interview to Hungarian Television.

[Kwasniewski in Polish, fading to correspondent's report] Poland is developing. The economy is growing, unemployment is falling. Wages and pensions have increased. When I spoke about this with my friend Gyula Horn he said I was a lucky man because he was in a more difficult situation owing to reforms to be introduced. Thus, I think that threats [to Polish citizens] are pointless. It has to be stated simply that the reforms that started in '89 will continue. Together we can achieve our goals easier, that is why I support regional cooperation. I support the idea that Poland should cooperate with Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, as well as Germany and our eastern neighbors, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. I am absolutely convinced that this cooperation will not weaken but strengthen our countries' positions in the European integration process.

We talk about a united Europe in which all of us will be together. From this point of view, our NATO entry will be a positive step toward the unification of Europe, which is a necessary process and will be the finale of the revolution that started in 1989.

Slovak Official Views Ambassador Boros' Recall

LD2511151295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Foreign Ministry does not plan to recall Ambassador to Budapest Eva Mitrova for consultation, in response to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry's step. This was confirmed by the Bratislava ministry following an inquiry by the Slovak paper PRAVDA.

Hungary recalled Ambassador Jeno Boros on 23 November. Pal Benyo, counsellor at the Embassy, told the paper that ambassadors are recalled for consultation several times a year. This does not necessarily mean a warning for Slovakia in connection with the adoption of the language law, which discriminates against minorities.

Boros Returns to Bratislava

LD2711212395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian ambassador to Bratislava [Jenoe Boros] has spent only the weekend in Budapest. Following short consultations, he returned to his post today. Peter Attila Nagy has interviewed him:

[Nagy] According to Jenoe Boros, Hungarian ambassador to Pozsony [Bratislava], Slovak-Hungarian relations have been developing promisingly and the government does not wish to halt this process:

[Begin Boros recording] The decision has been made, therefore, that I should return as soon as possible after the completion of consultations and that I should take over the management of the foreign mission. [end recording]

[Nagy] Boros said that the government had no choice but to recall its ambassador for a short period:

[Begin Boros recording] Recalling me for a longer period would have led to a cooling of relations in a way which could have become an obstacle to negotiations at a later stage. [end recording]

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Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic on Accord

Warns About Serb Resistance

AU2711193395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic warned that if Karadzic's Serbs seriously resist the provisions of the Dayton peace accord, the fighting could flare up again. He demanded that Belgrade put them under its control.

Minister Sacirbegovic said in Zagreb: If Karadzic and Mladic put up a serious resistance to the Dayton accord, we can expect the continuation of the fighting to protect peace. Sacirbegovic described Karadzic's provocation with the Serbian demonstrations in Grbavica and Ilidza as a worrying indication of the Serbian side's intentions to undermine the agreement. It is very important that the entire negotiating team in Dayton pays attention to Karadzic's commentaries and that President Milosevic takes some active steps, Sacirbegovic said.

Terms Accord 'Cruel But Realistic'

LD2711161895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The objective of the Dayton agreements is not to keep the current separation lines indefinitely, but rather to get rid of them, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic said today at a news conference in Zagreb. He cited the need for the distribution of power in the federation as the sole reason for his decision to offer to resign as foreign minister.

Andjelko Perincic attended the conference, from where he sent the following report:

[Perincic] Having stressed that the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina is cruel, but realistic, Sacirbegovic said that the greatest injustice of Dayton was the adherence to the principle: What has been conquered in war, will remain yours in peace. This is particularly obvious in the case of Bosnian Posavina, and as a principle, it is very dangerous for the future. He said that with regard to Posavina, when in Dayton he fully supported the president of the federation, Kresimir Zubak.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina minister displayed a certain amount of displeasure with the way all the existing documents on the federation have been implemented so far. He insisted that the federation would be firmer once the circumstance in the field, and the political level, changed. One of the reasons for his current visit to Sarajevo is preparation for the assembly and the federation, which are expected to pass crucial regulations to boost the federation, which must begin to function on 1 January 1996. According to Sacirbegovic, it is a pity that the federation did not start functioning before Dayton; that would have made all the difference in the positions of the three sides in the negotiations.

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording] But I have to say at the same time that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will in itself be a catalyst. Some people see the federation as the first step in the division [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. However, it must also be viewed as a kind of magnet to encourage progress. [end recording]

[Perincic] Asked how he would interpret the resistance by rebel Serbs, especially to the reintegration of Sarajevo as an open city within the federation, Sacirbegovic said that Karadzic and people of his ilk are using it as a way of justifying their actions before their people. He added that in Sarajevo, and the country as a whole, the Serbs will enjoy full security, that soon they and everyone else will be able to end their isolation and join Europe, especially from the economic point of view, and that Bosnian Posavina was not a concession made in return for the liberation of the currently occupied parts of Sarajevo.

If the Serbs fail to implement the Dayton agreements, the United States guarantees are firm, and force will be used if needed to ensure that the agreements are implemented, Minister Sacirbegovic said.

Denies Trading Posavina for Sarajevo

AU2711155495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Report by Nada al Issa on news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic in Zagreb; date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Is the Dayton agreement at all acceptable for Bosnia-Herzegovina? Signing it was very difficult, because it offers a bad peace, but even a bad peace is better than war, Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic said, recalling President Izetbegovic's words. However, the agreement itself should enable the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that is the most important thing. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, too, is a step toward reintegration, although some people consider it to be a step toward the division of Bosnia, the minister warned.

The Croatian press today gave a lot of publicity to the claim that Bosanska Posavina was sold in Dayton in exchange for Sarajevo. The minister sharply denied this claim, and explained that the problem and status of Sarajevo were on the agenda in Dayton much earlier than Posavina. The solution for Sarajevo has nothing to

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do with it, and is not contingent on Posavina; moreover, an integral Sarajevo is [word indistinct] future integral Bosnia-Herzegovina in every respect, the minister said. [passage indistinct]

The minister confirmed that his resignation was not a protest against the Dayton agreement, because in spite of being unfair, it nevertheless at least formally maintains an integral Bosnia- Herzegovina and that is the first step toward its comprehensive reintegration and internal integrity.

Stresses Importance of NATO

AU2411180995 Paris AFP in English
1748 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Nov 24 (AFP) — Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic warned Friday [24 November] that implementation of a peace accord in Bosnia will be a test for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

"Bosnia is a test for NATO. NATO will succeed in Bosnia if Bosnia survives," Sacirbegovic said in remarks at the start of the second day of the Global Panel, an annual socio-economic forum.

Sacirbegovic said it was important to "encourage NATO and all the western countries to think of Bosnia as an integral part of the western defence umbrella."

"To bring peace to the region one must start with Bosnia," the foreign minister said, adding: "Without stability, without prosperity, without peace in Bosnia, there will be no peace in the region and, by extension, there will be no peace in Europe."

"Our government, we believe, represents an open society, democracy, tolerance and economic accountability in the free market system," he said, adding that his government feared that the Bosnian Serbs would "seek to perpetuate war and instability in order to stay in power."

Commenting on war criminals whom the UN tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has indicted, Sacirbegovic said: "It is important to bring war criminals to justice."

Congratulating chief prosecutor Richard Goldstone and the tribunal's judges for their commitment to justice, Sacirbegovic said: "I would like to hear the same commitment from the capitals who support the work of the tribunal."

"I am afraid that to this point I am somewhat disappointed," he said.

Set up in The Hague two years ago, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has indicted 52 people — including top Bosnian Serb civilian and military leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

The Global Panel opened Thursday with a speech from Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) leader Yasir 'Arafat. It will close Friday afternoon with a speech from former U.S. President George Bush.

No Peace Until War Criminals Tried

AU2411150295 Paris AFP in English
1359 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Nov 24 (AFP) — Real peace and reconciliation in Bosnia are impossible until alleged war criminals have been delivered to a UN tribunal on the former Yugoslavia, Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic said Friday.

"If it doesn't happen, there will be a continuing desire for justice, and individuals will take that cause in their hands," he told a news conference.

"The symbolism of their being delivered to the tribunal is essential for people to live and look forward rather than backward," he added, saying they would probably be better treated at The Hague than in Belgrade anyway.

The Hague is the seat of a UN criminal tribunal set up to judge alleged war criminals from the Balkans conflict. Among the 52 people already indicted are Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and military commander Ratko Mladic, but only one person has so far appeared in court.

Speaking ahead of the annual meeting of the Global Panel, an international think-tank of politicians, Sacirbegovic said it would be "very inappropriate" to lift sanctions on Serbia until it had handed over alleged war criminals.

"We cannot reward Serbia for being cooperative in the peace process at the expense of justice," the foreign minister added.

The three-year-old embargo was lifted by the UN Security Council as part of the overall Dayton accord agreed earlier this week to end the Balkans conflict.

Sacirbegovic, who had previously threatened to resign his position after peace talks, told reporters he would stand down sometime in the next month.

Government Outlines Plan for Serb-Held Sarajevo

AU2811084495 Paris AFP in English
2231 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Report by Jean-Luc Porte]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 27 (AFP) — Despite threats by Bosnian Serb leaders to put up armed

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resistance, Bosnian Government authorities on Monday outlined a three-step plan to return Serb-held portions of Sarajevo to their control.

The plan, Bosnian minister Hasan Muratovic told AFP, was consistent with the peace accord initialed last week in Dayton, Ohio and would unfold in three phases: the establishment of demilitarized zones, the placing of recovered territory under NATO authority, and the return of local armed forces to their bases.

During the first phase, troops from each side would have 45 days after the signing of a final peace accord in Paris — probably next week — to withdraw two kilometers within their designated areas, Muratovic explained.

"It will be NATO troops who, as soon as they arrive, will establish the exact location of these demilitarized boundaries," noted the spokesman for the Bosnian Foreign Ministry, Marzi Hajrit.

In the second phase the international force would enter the Serb sections of Sarajevo for another 45-day period, using whatever means necessary to establish control. "During this period," Muratovic said, "Serb civilians will have to decide if they will leave the area or not."

Those who are "occupying properties not belonging to them" will have to give them up, he added.

Even as the minister was speaking, some Serbs in Sarajevo said they would resist Bosnian authority, though others seemed resigned to either leaving or living under a new administration.

"Now they are telling us to leave our city, but that's out of the question," said a shop owner in a Serb-held section of the capital. "We have struggled too hard, and too many of us have died, for us to leave because of a simple signature," she said.

Some people interviewed said they would go so far as to take up arms to defend their portions of the city.

Anger within the Serb community here has turned against the President of neighboring Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, who negotiated in Dayton on behalf of Bosnian Serbs. More than one person here called the Serb president a "traitor."

Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic, who initially backed the US-brokered accord, on Sunday said he wanted parts of the agreement concerning the Bosnian capital to be renegotiated and threatened NATO forces with a "bloodbath" if they tried to arrest him or any other Serb.

"Until a different and better solution than that provided by the Dayton peace accords is found for the Serb portion of Sarajevo, the Serb army will maintain its positions," Karadzic said on Sunday, in a report carried by the SRNA news agency.

"Nobody should behave as a boss in my country. If it is so, then our assembly (parliament) will not accept NATO presence here," he added, referring to the Bosnian Serb parliament.

But other Serbs seemed resigned to accepting the terms of the peace accord and the overwhelming consensus of international opinion. "If we have time to pull together all our belongings and if they give us decent lodgings, we'll leave," said Dragan, a forty-year old former art teacher.

"Among the some 40,000 people living in the Serb sections of Sarajevo, it is likely that a large number will go," observed UNHRC spokesman Kris Janowski. But if things go well for those who stay, Janowski added, "some will return."

A third, and final, phase would start 120 days after the Paris peace signing, Muratovic said. Then, the soldiers of each side would return with their heavy arms to their military bases.

The UN has yet to comment on the Bosnian government plan.

Resistance Against UNPROFOR

LD2711184395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 27 Nov (SRNA) — Nedeljko Prstojevic, president of the municipal war presidency of Ilidza [Serb-held suburb in western Sarajevo], told SRNA today that the Dayton agreement "represents not only treason and surrender of Serb areas, but is also absurd because it cannot be implemented."

Prstojevic warned that "the Serb people are beginning spontaneous resistance against UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and other international agencies, which they have been tolerating so far." [passage omitted]

Serb Council Supports United City

LD2611211595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Just before the beginning of our bulletin, we received the text of a statement by the executive of the Serb Civic Council.

The Serb Civic Council supports the Dayton peace agreement confident of the possibility of building peace and reintegrating Bosnia-Herzegovina with the involvement of the international community. It is very important that the peace agreement has been endorsed by the majority of both Bosniak, Croat, and Serb people.

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Despite the war, Sarajevo has succeeded in preserving the model of a Bosnian multi-ethnic society, and over the last few days, the people of Sarajevo have been rejoicing at the solution concerning their city, but at the same time are disturbed by the fact that the Pale leadership has been inciting the people of Vogosca, Ilidza, Ilijas, Hadzici, and Grbavica against the peace solution for Sarajevo.

The Pale leadership is hiding behind the people in an attempt to shun responsibility for the war and the sufferings of the people of Sarajevo. It is an imperative to stop, with the help of the international community, the very dangerous action to manipulate the children and civilians in the part of the town under the control of the Pale regime. Everything possible must be done to stop calls for the use of force and war.

We appeal to the people of Ilidza, Hadzici, Ilijas, Vogosca, and Grbavica to concentrate their efforts now on peace and the building of a united Sarajevo where they will be able to make a decision concerning their future through democratic institutions at the municipal and town level, the executive of the Serb Civic Council for Bosnia-Herzegovina says in its statement.

EU's Bildt on Serb Sarajevans

LD2611173295 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1545 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Many Bosnian Serbs in Sarajevo feel betrayed and threatened by the peace accord. But EU Mediator Carl Bildt gives assurances that the accord will be observed, which means, among other things, that no Serbs will be banished from Sarajevo.

[Begin Bildt recording] I mean, this must not be allowed to happen, because if it does, then on the one hand, there will be a new wave of refugees and refugees are — I use this expression without giving it any negative connotation — revanchists, they want to return to what existed, that is how it is. There will be a new reservoir of revanchism, above all in this case in (?Serbia), where there are already close to half a million of refugees who (?have returned). A further 100,000 from the Sarajevo region will complicate the political picture.

Second, the image of Sarajevo as this multicultural, multi-ethnic city will be dealt a deathblow if 120,000 Serbs feel that they are forced to flee from the city as a consequence of the peace. If we are to build or (?create preconditions) for the Sarajevo we want and they want, it is immensely important that the Serbs feel the security that makes them able to stay on. [end recording]

Under the peace treaty, police troops are due to be responsible for calm in the Serbian, respectively Bosnian-Croat areas. In Sarajevo, the Bosnian leadership are to recruit policemen both among Bosnians and Serbs. Carl Bildt realizes that the recruitment of Serbs, in particular, may be difficult, but apart from that, under the peace treaty there will be some 1,500 international policemen in all of Bosnia who are to ensure that no acts of cruelty are carried out against the minorities, in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka among others, cities with vast numbers of refugees, mixed populations, and where human rights violations have been particularly gross.

The NATO troops, consisting of 60,000 soldiers, have partly similar tasks, but their actual and primary task is to guard the borders between Serb and Bosnian-Croat areas.

Vogosca Citizens Protest Agreement

LD2511140495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Nov (SRNA) — A protest meeting was held in the Vogosca district of Sarajevo this morning, organized by the Serb Youth Federation. A large number of young people expressed their frustration and dissatisfaction with the injustice inflicted on Serb Sarajevo by the Dayton agreement.

The meeting was addressed by Serb Sarajevo mayor Vojislav Maksimovic and by Rajko Koprivica, chairman of the Vogosca war presidency.

The speakers said they understand the bitterness and resentment resulting from the decision to leave citizens of Serb Sarajevo in the hands of the Croat-Muslim Federation, which was approved by the signature of Serbian President Milosevic, head of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's negotiating delegation. [passage omitted]

Grbavica Serbs Also Protest

LD2511134095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Nov (SRNA) — At 1200, citizens of the Serb-held Sarajevo district of Grbavica began a big protest meeting against the agreement signed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, head of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's negotiating team, whereby Grbavica has been left to the Croat-Muslim Federation. [passage omitted]

A message from the meeting stated that "the war started in Sarajevo — in Grbavica and Vraca. Citizens of Serb Sarajevo have found out what hell is and have lived through it, and that's why they want to stay here, as this is Serb land."

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Demonstrators carried placards saying "We will not give up Serb Sarajevo," while all this was being filmed by about 60 domestic and foreign journalists.

Serb Sarajevo, mainly comprising seven municipalities in the Sarajevo area — Stari Grad, Novo Sarajevo, Ilidza, Ilijas, Vogosca, Hadzici, and Trnovo — currently has 120,000 inhabitants.

Ilidza Serbs Demonstrate

AU2411210995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Several hundred Ilidza high school students have organized demonstrations to protest the news that Sarajevo will be a unified city within the framework of the future Croat-Muslim Federation. A procession, also consisting of members of the Serb Republic army and disabled veterans, toured the streets of Ilidza and stopped in front of the municipal assembly, shouting slogans against the decisions made in Dayton. Carrying placards and flags of the Serb Republic, the demonstrators demanded that the Serb Republic leadership address the nation through the media. A meeting of support for Serb Sarajevo, to which young people from the western part of the city was invited, is scheduled for tomorrow in Vogosca.

Presidency Member Urges Serbs To Stay

AU2411174495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] I would like to call on all citizens living in Grbavica, Vogosca, Ilidza, and Hadzici, and particularly citizens of Serb nationality, to trust the international community and the legal bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which protect human and civil rights and must do so according to international standards, and not even to think of leaving their homes. This was, among other things, what Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and president of the Serb Civic Council, said in an interview with the Hayat independent television last night.

In Sarajevo, we will all have our chance to build a better future, to renew interethnic confidence, and to build the city that will host some future Olympic Games in the foreseeable future.

I believe that Sarajevo will be one of the cities to have the fastest economic and cultural development and prosperity in the Balkans and perhaps also in Europe in the coming [passage indistinct] will one day answer for their crimes, Mirko Pejanovic pointed out.

Asked by journalists' how Sarajevo will be reintegrated, Pejanovic said [words indistinct] that the peace solution achieved for Sarajevo is an historic solution. Sarajevo has preserved [word indistinct] ethnic structure, it has preserved interethnic (?tolerance) and that which will [words indistinct].

Democratic forces will have to work hard on renewing life throughout the city. In addition, as for solutions for the city's reintegration, the unified functioning of communal services, traffic, water and electricity supplies, and the free movement of people should be ensured, Mirko Pejanovic said.

Bosnian Serbs React to Dayton Peace Accord

VP Praises 'Significant' Achievement

LD2611224595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 26 Nov (TANJUG) — Dr. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told Radio Kragujevac [in FRY] today that in his view, the greatest achievement of the Dayton agreement is the fact that those who were not genuinely for peace have now been put in the position where they have to accept peace.

Koljevic thinks that "the result is a major one" because, first and foremost, peace has been achieved, albeit through compromises.

He said that the initialling of the Dayton agreement was significant primarily because it gave the Serb Republic the degree of statehood possible at the present juncture.

"Our initial goal was not to become a national minority in the part of the country which was still Yugoslavia. Simply, we could not accept becoming a national minority having had the status of a nation before; and this was our first political goal, and it has been achieved. Of course, we have achieved even more than that. We have gained territory in which to exercise our political rights [teritorijalizacija prava], and this is not insignificant," Koljevic said.

"We have also secured the possibility of establishing links with the mother country, and when peace sets in, I think we shall develop normal relations with other nations for the simple reason that when people are angry, they are incapable of making rational decisions. Once they calm down, they will realize that there is no reason for not giving the same rights to others," the vice president of the Serb Republic said.

Serb Ministry on 'Misinformation'

LD2711210195 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb Republic Ministry of Defense Department of Information, Morale, and

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Religious Matters stresses in its statement today that in recent days some of the media in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been spreading a great deal of misinformation.

A statement, allegedly made by Serb Defense Minister Milan Ninkovic [name and position as received], broadcast by Serbian Television's Belgrade studio in its second [evening] newscast on 22 November 1995, is cited as a drastic example of abusing public speech. In a gross mix-up of text, the part of his statement relating to the significance, position, and role of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in the process of creating the Serb Republic is made to read as if he were expressing gratitude for Slobodan Milosevic's peace policy.

The second example is an article published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI under the headline: "Krajisnik Undermines Peace." The article skillfully implies that at the peace negotiations the president of the Serb Republic People's Assembly [speaker Krajisnik] wanted to trade Serb Sarajevo for Ozren, Doboj, and other towns in Posavina (north Bosnia). The statement also says that the Serb Ministry of Defense Department of Information, Morale, and Religious Affairs has the original statements and it will take legal action via competent bodies as envisaged by the law.

Banja Luka Serbs Divided

AU2811121195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Dragan Banjac: "Kasagic: We Have Achieved as Much as Our Maturity as a Nation Has Allowed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka — It takes seven hours by bus to get to the Krajina [western Bosnia] capital city from Belgrade. Most of the passengers on the buses are women these days. Only a soldier or policemen or two get on at the corridor or near Banja Luka.

Despite having some 50,000 to 70,000 refugees on top of the 150,000 locals and some 14 registered parties and organizations, there has not been much talk of politics in Banja Luka. However the Dayton initials and everything that has followed has had some impact.

Mayor Predrag Radic is rather cautious. He says that it is too early to comment, "but, like the next man, I am looking forward to peace." Still, he does not want to show his pleasure until he sees "what is contained in the peace agreement to be signed in Paris." The statement by Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the assembly of the Serb Republic [Serb-held area of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Radic regards as "suspicious."

"As far as I know our deputies in the assembly were aware that President Milosevic was authorized to represent us and that he would have the casting vote if the vote was inconclusive. This is why it is now inappropriate to say that he does not have that right. We cannot play now-you-have-the-vote, now-you-haven't games," Radic says, suggesting that such issues should be decided by the assembly. [passage omitted]

The mood of the Banja Luka people is divided. Some are satisfied, some almost delighted, as they have been waiting for peace for far too long. There are, of course, skeptics, too, who say that the agreement should be accepted, but also heavily modified.

Miroslav Toholj, Serb Republic information minister, shares these thoughts. For him, "it is already clear that the plan must be improved, particularly concerning the conditions regarding NATO arrival, and the territorial delineation in the Podgrmec area, Posavina, Brcko, Sarajevo, and Gorazde."

"As far as I know, we got a republic in Dayton, but I still do not know to what degree it will be independent," says Rajko Kasagic, Serb Republic prime minister designate. "It seems to me that we will need a lot of time and nerves to determine all the elements relevant to the appropriate level of independence of the Serb Republic. We will get back a part of the territory that we lost — Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo — but our negotiators could not even ask for the parts of the Upper Krajina that we had given up without a fight. At this point in history, we have achieved as much as our maturity as a nation allowed."

Orthodox Bishop Rejects Maps

AU2811104495 (Clandestine) Radio Krajina in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] His excellency the Dabrobosanski Metropolitan Bishop Nikolai stated yesterday that the Dayton maps were biased and detrimental to the Serb nation. They did not take into account that the Serbs have lived here for centuries and that some of our sacred objects are older than the United States and were created before the Turks came to the Balkans, said Metropolitan Bishop Nikolai.

Recognition of Serb Republic

LD2611144595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 26 November (TANJUG) — The head of the club of independent deputies of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Milorad Dodik, said today that his club would request from the speaker

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of the Serb Republic People's Assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, that he convene a parliamentary session at which the Serb Republic's highest bodies of authorities express their opinion on the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement.

At a press conference in Banja Luka he said that the Dayton peace agreement meant the international recognition of the Serb Republic and gave the Serb Republic a possibility to realize its interests by peaceful means and through talks with the Muslim-Croat federation.

"This agreement makes possible the realization of Serb self-determination in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is a historic solution for the Serb nation, despite the fact that the outcome of the peace talks is painful for all three sides, and that it brought an inevitable compromise," Dodik stressed. [passage omitted]

The head of the club of independent deputies stressed his gratitude to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for his achievements in the peace deal, despite some shortcomings or incomplete solutions. The Dayton peace agreement is referred to as the maximum of what was possible, especially since the Serb Republic had ill-defined goals.

Speaking on behalf of the club of independent deputies, Dodik said that the most important issue at the moment was to begin implementing the plan. He added that this must happen as soon as all the documents are signed in Paris.

"This is a way for the Serb Republic to become involved in world trends," he said.

According to Dodik, it is necessary for the authorities to be legitimate in order to implement the plan. "The current authorities do not have the necessary legitimacy, and they should have it approved in elections," he specified. [passage omitted]

Only Serb Army Can Guarantee Peace

LD2511223195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 25 Nov (SRNA) — Lieutenant Colonel General Momir Talic, the commander of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army's 1st Krajina Corps, said in Banja Luka today that only the Serb army, and not multinational forces deployed along its borders can guarantee peace to the Serb Republic.

Addressing the 1st Corps police battalion, Gen. Talic said that peace can be secured for the Serb Republic only by its army deployed along its borders.

"The tragic example of the Republic of Serb Krajina — its borders were guarded and its security guaranteed by international forces — shows the Serb people that only their army can guarantee peace and security," Gen. Talic said in conclusion.

Banja Luka 'Mayor' Supports Peace

AU2411201695 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Nov 95

[Interview with Predrag Radic, "mayor" of the Banja Luka Serbs, by Milos Markovic in Banja Luka on 24 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radic] We look forward to peace just like all the citizens of the Serb Republic, regardless of whether they are civilians or soldiers, since not even World War II went on for so long. The people are exhausted, the economy is exhausted. We will barely manage to survive this winter, but — let me repeat — at least it will be much easier without the fighting. Children will no longer be getting killed on the front lines and we will, I suppose, manage to get the economy going a little. I can only say, like all the people in the Serb Republic, that peace is welcome not only for the Serb people but also for the people of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina generally.

The people that were on the Doboj front on the day of the announcement — the front lines there are very close — tell me that both sides fired, but in the air, of course, not at each other. So the Muslims and Croats, and everybody else here, has had enough of war. Now we have to be wise, to sit down and settle the borders of demarcation, so that we can live side by side until we learn, perhaps, one day to live together. Who knows if we can be such optimists to say that there will be rapid political reintegration, but economic reintegration is certain. These are the sort of things that come to my mind when it comes to Dayton, to the results of that Dayton, that the great systems will again be established, such as the energy system, the railroad system, telecommunications, and so on. These have all been destroyed in this war. These are the results that I expect after Dayton.

[Markovic] You have just mentioned the possibility that, after this agreement, Serbs can expect to return to the places from which they fled, such as Glamoc, [Bosansko] Grahovo, Drvar, and so on. There were a number of Muslims in Banja Luka. Are you willing to accept the Muslims who want to return, the native Banja Luka people?

[Radic] Well, you know what it is like. There will have to be some sort of reciprocity. The way that the Serbs are being treated in the Republic of Serbian Krajina [former Serb-held areas in Croatia], and the territories that are

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now occupied by the Croats and Muslims [changes thought] if they accept the Serbs, then most likely that is how both the Croats and Muslims will be accepted here. After all, the constitutional principles say in Chapter 5 on human rights, points 4 and 5, that everyone has the right to settle where he likes and the place where he settles must provide him with a normal life.

Rebel Serb Leaders on Agreement

AU2311215795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 22 November carries within its regular evening newscast several reports on the reactions of Bosnian Serb officials to the Dayton agreement.

Biljana Plavsic says in a short interview to reporter Milka Tosic that "considering the Contact Group plan and all the other plans from the beginning," each plan was "better than the previous one. This plan that is being offered now is better than the previous one. According to the Contact Group plan, we were supposed to lose 18 towns, as far as I remember." Moreover, "at that time it was not defined that we should have the same rights to make ties with the neighboring countries as the Muslim-Croat Federation, while now this is clear. This is a significant improvement as far as the constitutional solution is concerned, as well as the (?territorial)." She adds that in the Contact Group plan "there was no continuity of our territory," and that "more or less normal principles are contained in this plan."

Milan Ninkovic, "defense minister," is reported as telling Srpski Radio that "with the Dayton agreement the Serbs have lost some ethnic territories, but this is overshadowed by the peace agreement. Although I do not know the details of the territorial demarcation map, I can establish that most Serb territories are now within the Serb entity, though some compromises had to be made by the Serb side."

Miroslav Toholj, "information minister," told SRNA today that "the government is not able to issue a complete opinion on the results of the peace talks in Dayton before the Serb delegation returns, whose positions were obviously not acknowledged."

Rajko Kasagic, "prime minister designate," says that "with the Dayton agreement the Serb Republic has gained border areas, which are agriculturally rich, as well as some forests and mineral resources, which is a good basis for organizing a normal life. There is not enough information on the status of Sarajevo, which must be determined at some time," and "the constitutional principles facilitate a certain degree of independence." He added that "we cannot be satisfied with a unitary bank and currency, because it could be in the way of establishing economic ties with the FRY."

Predrag Radic, president of the war presidency of Banja Luka, in a statement to this radio station, says that "the information in the media is so controversial that I cannot give you a broad commentary, but only express my personal feeling about it." He adds that "it will be worth doing as much as possible within the following 15 days to round off the territory on which the Serbs are to live in the future, as well as to work towards the constitutional principles containing as many elements that are to protect the Serb people and this territory in the long run as possible." Commenting on Krajisnik's statement concerning the results of the Dayton talks, he says that "there is something suspicious about denying Mr. Milosevic the right to initial the peace documents in Dayton. To my knowledge, the representatives in the assembly knew that President Milosevic was being given the authority to represent us [passage indistinct], and it is inappropriate to deny him that right now," especially as "the document has been initialed."

Mayor of "Serb Sarajevo" Vojislav Maksimovic, tells SRNA that "only the Serb people will make decisions concerning the future of the capital of the Serb Republic." He added that "the statement of the Muslim leaders that with the Dayton agreement the largest part of the city is to belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation, should be accepted without panic, since no one outside this nation that has created the Serb state can make decisions concerning the future of 100,000 people in the western part of Serb Sarajevo."

President of the war presidency of "Serb Sarajevo", Tripko Radic, tells the Bosnian Serb OSLOBODJENJE that "the division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, initialed in Dayton, is very bad for the Serb people, and unacceptable as far as Krajina, the corridor for Gorazde, and Sarajevo are concerned." He added that "returning Mrkonjic Grad without Sanski Most, Kljuc, and [Bosanski] Petrovac is foul play. As far as the Muslim corridor for Gorazde is concerned, it is absolutely unacceptable, since it cuts the Serb Republic into two parts." Moreover, he said that "it is also unacceptable that Serb Sarajevo should be part of the Croat-Muslim Federation."

Socialists Hail 'Painful Compromise'

AU2311141295 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 7

[Report by M. Maric: "A Painful Compromise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka — The Socialist Party [SP] of the Serb Republic hailed the singing of a comprehensive agreement which ended the war in former Yugoslavia.

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The delight expressed two nights ago by the citizens and troops throughout the Serb Republic when they heard about the signing of the agreement are the best proof of the sincerity of their commitment to peace, and a clear message to all those who wish to continue the war that they will not be getting any support, reads the statement for the public released by the SP of the Serb Republic, singed by President Dragutin Ilic.

The Socialists assessed that the agreement is a painful compromise which all sides to the conflict had to accept, and that no one was able to fulfill their maximum goals.

The agreement is not to the disadvantage of the Serb people because it puts an end to the suffering and bloodshed, validates the Serb Republic as an equal state entity within the complex state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and allows for links with the mother country.

Serb Official on Attempts To Overthrow Karadzic

AU2411181595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 95 p 8

[Article by N. Todorovic: "Imported Tensions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior minister of the Serb Republic Tomislav Kovac is soon expecting the cessation of war. However, as we have understood from a short conversation with him (at the celebration of MUP patron's day) a huge struggle follows, but on the internal political stage in the Serb Republic, where, according to Kovac, there have been attempts to overthrow [Radovan] Karadzic by communist methods.

"According to our assessments and knowledge, we believe that the war will soon be over. If the opposite occurs, the war will be even more severe, which is clear to us, to our enemy, and to the entire world, and in that case the war would certainly spread. I do not believe that is a Western interest at the moment," Kovac says, adding that at the beginning of the talks in Dayton, Ohio, there were fewer provocations on the part of the enemy, and he almost completely refrained from any extensive tactical undertakings.

"The Serbs in the Serb Republic are facing a challenge to show to the world that they are capable of making a viable and prospering state, with a sufficiently high degree of security that will attract foreign investors," Kovac says. He assessed that a particular problem will be the recovery of soldiers' psyche from the dimension of war, where character is judged by the strength of a gun, into a normal life, where order and law are observed.

With regard to turmoils on the internal plane in the Serb Republic, Kovac claims that there is no conflict between the military and the political leaderships, but he immediately adds that some people have assume the right to intrude into the political sphere as representatives of parties or organizations from the other bank of the Drina, that want the Serb Republic to be organized in a different way.

"Those officers," Kovac says, "are chiefly those from the military press center. I do not reproach them for having different opinions, but let them take off their uniforms and say which party they belong to. Now they are actually using the institution of the army as a means of campaigning in elections."

Speaking about the radio station in Banja Luka, around which the Patriotic Front has gathered, Kovac says that Radio Krajina itself has its headquarters attached to that of the 1st Krajina Corps. Through the station, one is attempting to dupe people about who is actually to blame for the fall of much of the Bosnian Krajina, although it is precisely known which positions certain commanders held at the time.

According to Kovac, the internal political tension is imported from Serbia. "We are dealing here with the leftist forces — and I refer thereby to those people who have not given up the communist, revolutionary method of seizing power," Kovac claims (with a remark that such revolutionaries know nothing about nation, faith or tradition) and continues:

"The JUL [Yugoslav United Left] is supposedly a sort of leftist ideology, while here, as well as in Serbia, it is mobilizing people who are in possession of big capital. I would say that it is rather a particular caste, that adroitly manipulates matters and people in order to seize the entire power and economic monopoly. This is what they are trying to accomplish in the Serb Republic, as well," the interior minister of the Serbian Republic believes.

Denying that the MUP serves to President Karadzic as a lever in the struggle against his political opponents, Kovac says that citizens do not have a right to revoke institutions of authority — the assembly, the government, or the president, but have to respect them, which applies also to the police. "We shall respect other people in the same way when they come to power, but when they do that by way of elections, rather than through violence and deceit," interior minister of the Serb Republic Kovac says.

[Box, p 8]

Asked to comment on President Karadzic's recent statement that the two French pilots (downed in the Pale area) were abducted by unknown persons, after which he issued an order to the army and the security service that a special investigation should be carried out, Minister

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Kovac says: "We have no up-to-date information on the pilots. I can just confirm that we handed those men over to the army, and what happened after that we really do not know. They are in the charge of the army and the General Staff, and it is they who will have to provide answers."

Presidency Member on Replacement for Karadzic

AU2411174395 Sarajevo SLOBODNA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 12

[Interview with Mirko Pejanovic, ethnic Serb member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and chairman of the Serb Civic Council, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "I Am Not Going to Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [SLOBODNA BOSNA] Mr. Pejanovic, could you comment on newspaper speculation that you are also considered "suitable" by Milosevic, in addition to Lazovic, Bogicevic, and Kecmanovic?

[Pejanovic] I think the main question here is whether Milosevic has managed to win the international community over to his goals or whether it was the other way around. It is obvious that Milosevic has imposed himself as a powerful negotiator in removing Karadzic, but the fact that myself, Lazovic, and Bogicevic are mentioned has a different background. It is a kind of "test," which indicates that Serbia is about to recognize fully the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that the idea of a multiethnic and integral state has prevailed over that of a greater Serbia. Nenad Kecmanovic is probably the man whom Milosevic considers the most suitable and these unconfirmed reports should be viewed in that light.

[SLOBODNA BOSNA] The departure of Karadzic and Mladic is more certain than ever. What would happen, for example, if you had to replace Karadzic in Pale?

[Pejanovic] If Mirko Pejanovic were to be with Karadzic's supporters, that would mean a second inter-Serbian war. I am not leaving Sarajevo, nor am I giving up the goals for which I have fought so far, over which I have sometimes had problems. You can rest assured that Pejanovic will not be going to Belgrade or Zagreb to obtain his opinion, which is what certain people are doing now.

[SLOBODNA BOSNA] Could any forces from Russia save Karadzic at the last moment?

[Pejanovic] Russia is acting like a great power and a partner to another great power, the United States, and that is why the kind of policy that Pale is conducting is pointless. In Russia, Karadzic has the support of the extremists, while official Moscow clearly realizes that Karadzic is politically dead.

[SLOBODNA BOSNA] Who, in your view, are the most serious candidates for Karadzic's place?

[Pejanovic] Of the narrow circle, it could be Milorad Dodik or Nenad Kecmanovic and, going beyond these, it could be Dragan Kalinic, Aleksa Buha, Zivko Radisic, the former candidate member of the SFRY Presidency, or Predrag Radic, the current Banja Luka mayor. However, my assessment is limited since, as you can see, I am not in Dayton. [passage omitted]

'Criminal Karadzic' Tightening 'Protective Belt'

AU2511151895 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 16-23 Nov 95 p 14

[Article by Dj. Kozar: "Karadzic in the Paws of the KOS [Yugoslav intelligence service]"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The decision of the criminal Radovan Karadzic to withdraw his police from the first front lines and leave the guarding of these to the Serb paramilitary is not unexpected. His explanation that the policemen will now deal more with the disclosure of crime is not convincing. True, crime blossoms on the occupied territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the policemen were withdrawn mostly because of Karadzic's paranoia. Namely, in the fear of the KOS [Yugoslav intelligence service], of The Hague and of the frustrated locals, the leader is tightening the protective belt around himself.

Ever since last summer, when the generals refused to obey, and took the side of the criminal Ratko Mladic, Karadzic has believed that he can only rely on the "Serb interior ministry." He strengthened the police even before his quarrel with Mladic, so that now it is organized and armed like a military force.

Colonel's People

The special unit of the "Serb interior ministry" has for one year been organized as a brigade consisting of over 2,000 people. Beside modern infantry weapons, that unit also has tanks, armored transporters and far-ranging artillery! It is a brigade that throughout the war has been more active in the military field than in police work. Its commander is Colonel Goran Saric, who graduated from the Army Academy for Land Troops in Belgrade six years ago. He gets his orders directly from Karadzic, and is directly responsible to him as well.

Talking about the purpose of this brigade, Saric said to Pale television:

"We have been trained for most delicate situations, and the reason that we are still involved in the armed fight is because of needs, because we have to help the army, particularly the surrounded troops."

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The so-called head staff of the "Army of the Serbian Republic" obviously did not like this statement, so there was a prompt response, in the army program of the same television, in the statement of the commander of the guards brigade of the Serb paramilitary, Colonel Momir Lazic:

"The guards brigade of the head staff fights where it is the most difficult. We independently carry out what we have been ordered. And our superior command can say how effective we are.... Each unit of our army has its tasks, and what they do not like is some commanders bragging about themselves...."

The bigger the gap between Karadzic and Mladic, the deeper the abyss between the Serb paramilitary and para-police. And while earlier they hid their antagonisms, now this is more and more publicly expressed. With the decision to withdraw the police from fighting, the discord has deepened, and it cannot be ruled out that it might come to a conflict between the army and the police. The KOS works on that alertly, and the Dayton messages leave no doubt that Karadzic and Mladic can no longer be found on the voting — but rather on the Hague — list.

Isolated by Everyone

The new minister of the "Pale interior ministry," Tomo Kovac, recently criticized the relationship of the generals toward his "supreme commander" Karadzic on the Serb radio, saying:

"I do not know what those generals want. It is well known who the boss is according to our constitution — and they do not respect that boss. There is no such lack of discipline in the police. We are ready to carry out everything that our supreme commander demands of us."

Karadzic liked these words. He is more and more convinced that his recent decision to put Kovac in the position of the interior minister of the "Serbian Republic," instead of the "sick" Mico Stanisic, was a good solution. For the sake of the powers that be, Kovac will do everything to protect Karadzic, and that means one worry less for the "boss."

Isolated from the world and shut in the territory that he has occupied, which is getting narrower and narrower, Karadzic's only worry now is how to protect himself. Therefore he chose Vlastimir Kusmuk, the well-known special police member, as the head of his security service. His men guard Karadzic 24 hours a day, and they do not even leave him during the sessions of the so-called government of the "Serbian Republic." Nobody can approach the "Bistrica" hotel on Mount Jahorina, or the underground town in Han-Pijesak, without special permission.

Izetbegovic: Karadzic Attempting To Undermine Peace

LD2711224195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest events on the occupied territories in the wake of the Dayton agreement have prompted Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to make a statement:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Karadzic is attempting to undermine the world's resolve and the U.S. Congress. In my opinion, he fears peace. He wants a continuation of war — this time, obviously, at the expense of the Serb people [word indistinct] of the Serb people in these occupied areas, Sarajevo together with its suburbs, our message to them is: We will provide full security for civilians. By the same token, we will also make sure the perpetrators are effectively and resolutely brought to justice. [end recording]

Bosnian Croats Assess Ohio Peace Agreement

'Betrayal' by Representative Prlic

AU2711202895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An extraordinary session of the assembly of Bosnian Posavina Canton was held in Orasje, on the free territory of Bosnian Posavina, today. The session was chaired by Speaker Vitomir Coskovic and was attended by Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Vladimir Soljic, Mato Tadic, and numerous prominent personalities and deputies of the opposition political parties from the Republic of Croatia. Nadir Porobic reports.

[Begin recording] The most prominent people from the political and military establishment of Bosnian Posavina gathered at this session in a packed hall of the cultural center in Orasje. During a visit, on this occasion, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Kresimir Zubak, informed the assembly deputies and the entire gathering, very analytically and honesty, about the events in Dayton and the reasons why he did not sign the Dayton documents, remarking that, on behalf of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this was done by Jadranko Prlic, who had no authority to do so.

Mr. Zubak said that, in this case, he was guided by political, judicial, and moral reasons. Ending his truly comprehensive and sad testimony, Mr. Zubak said very figuratively that the Croats from Bosnian Posavina were

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like children rejected by their own mother. There are only two possible explanations in such a case — either the children are evil or the mother is. I say with full responsibility that the honorable sons of Bosnian Posavina are not evil children, Mr. Zubak said.

Messrs Mato Madzarevic, Drago Kisic, Anto Kovacevic, Niaz Gokovic, Tomislav Bozic, Ivan Crluka, Ivo Krizanovic, Iko Stanic, and others participated very successfully in a rather heated, occasionally sentimental, but humanely honest debate.

Mr. Iko Stanic, who introduced himself as a deputy of the Croatian people in Derventa in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, proposed two conclusions at today's assembly session, which were both received with ovations and which stipulate:

First. To raise the question of the resignation of Jadranko Prlic from all posts in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation for signing the Dayton Accord, which he had no right to do according to the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Second. That the assembly of Bosnian Posavina presses charges and instigates legal proceedings against Jadranko Prlic for the betrayal of the Croatian interests, pursuant to Articles 426 and 116, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code. If this assembly fails to do this, I shall do it personally, Mr. Stanic said. [end recording]

Zubak Favors Referendum on Accord

LD2711175995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Posavina grand county assembly has begun in Orasje. Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, informed the assembly about the Dayton agreement.

More could have been achieved and as the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I could not sign what I thought was unjust. I am in favor of a referendum so that the people can decide the borders of the grand county and on the agreement itself, President Zubak said, recalling in particular the sacrifice of those who had fallen for Posavina.

Vladimir Soljic, minister of defense of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, called for Croat unity and said that the Croat goal was to survive in both Herzegovina and Bosnia.

All those who addressed the assembly after President Zubak and Minister Soljic insisted that Posavina could not exist without its people and that they had to stay in Posavina because they had nowhere else to go.

Zubak on Reasons for Opposition

LD2511181595 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After returning from the peace talks in Dayton, Kresimir Zubak, the president of the presidential council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, held a news conference in Mostar today. He talked at great length about the course and the atmosphere of the talks and his principled reasons for not initialling the offered peace deal. Mijo Kelava has prepared a report from the news conference.

[Kelava] At the beginning of the news conference Mr. Zubak said that he was going to attend a session of the Posavina grand-county assembly on 27 November. After that he will explain his opposition at a session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. He told journalists about the course of and the atmosphere at the Dayton talks, and about how the 7-member delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina worked and voted. He said that he and Mr. [Ivo] Komsic did not want to initial the agreement. Jadranko Prlic did this on behalf of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, although under the Federation's constitution only the president can do this.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What were the reasons and motives, based primarily on principles, not to initial the agreement?

[Zubak] No decision on where and in which communities people will live can be made without a consent, expressed will, and decision of the people who are affected by that decision. I believe that this is a serious violation of the Washington agreement. The Washington agreement and the Federation's constitution say that the areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Bosniak Muslims and Croats are in majority are areas which belong to the Federation.

[Correspondent] Can something be changed on the maps before the conference in Paris?

[Zubak] I do not know whether it will possible to change anything, but this does not mean that we should not do everything possible to try to change what is not good.

[Correspondent] Mr. Zubak, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, was not in the official Herzeg-Bosnia delegation at the meeting in Zagreb yesterday. Why?

[Zubak] I did not receive an official invitation for the meeting with President Tudjman. I received two messages, but could not contact the people who had sent

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them. I do not know whether those messages contained an official invitation, but I received no official invitation so I did not want to go to a meeting for which I had not received an official invitation.

[Correspondent] What is the truth about your resignation?

[Zubak] My stance is crystal clear. First of all, I will put my positions forward in official bodies — both my personal position and the stances pertaining to my official position. If my positions do not receive support in the bodies I mentioned earlier, it is perfectly normal that neither I nor my positions (?go along with) those of the majority. So I will resign if the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the constituent assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina do not accept the arguments which led me to adopt my positions. My resignation is a logical consequence of that.

[Correspondent] What kind of political and legal system can Bosnia-Herzegovina expect after the Dayton agreement?

[Zubak] With the maps that envisage such a wide corridor, the process will go toward disintegration. This is my personal opinion. Mr. Izetbegovic is probably talking about what he would like to see happen. It is difficult to say now whether the process will go in that direction.

[Correspondent] What does Mr. Zubak think about the arrival of NATO troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zubak] This means that the whole area of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be divided in three zones. One zone will be covered by British forces, one by the French, and the third will have a dominant force from the United States — these forces will consist of troops from other countries as well, but these will be the main contributors. [end recording]

[Kelava] Zubak said the following about the indictments from The Hague and his recent trip to The Hague and the talks with Judge Goldstone.

[Begin recording] [Zubak] According to latest information available to me, a process has been launched against 1,260 people on the suspicion that they committed war crimes against Croat people. Some of these documents have been submitted to the International Tribunal in The Hague, and I expect the International Tribunal to launch a process against the people who committed crimes against the Croat people.

The reason for my trip was to inform Mr. Goldstone and the International Tribunal that the Federation is not a political entity under international law, so they do not need to send extradition requests to federal institutions because the Federation's judiciary has not yet been established. Hence, the Federation cannot extradite anyone.

On the other hand, I told them — which was a topical issue when an indictment was issued on Ivica Rajic — that criminal proceedings against him are under way at a court in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. I also told them that there are no relations of subordination or coordination between the legal institutions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina — which is a legal entity under international law — and the legal institutions of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. Consequently, the republic's institutions could not instruct Herzeg-Bosnia's courts to extradite him, and the decision of the supreme court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are not bounding for the courts in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. [end recording]

Croat Delegation 'Very Dissatisfied'

AU2411165095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 95

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, ethnic Croat member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and leader of the Croatian Peasants' Party in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Belma Kursumlic; place and date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kursumlic] Could you give us more details about the relationship between the Dayton accord and the Federation?

[Komsic] Last week in Dayton, the agreement on the furthering of the Federation was [word indistinct] and the first eight days in Dayton were used for attaining such an accord. Had the final accord, the one that we initialed, not been reached, had the negotiations failed, the result of the Dayton talks would be this agreement on the Federation. It was also definitely agreed to separate the governments, the federal and republican governments. The federal government has been given power over the entire Federation territory and all the administrative arrangements that have been established during this war are now invalid. I mean both the arrangements that existed and functioned under the name of Herzeg-Bosnia and those that the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities used in the form of war presidencies, districts, and so on. When the federal government comes to power, it must have undivided power and cannot share it with anybody on Federation territory. This is a great achievement, and I think that the Federation was definitely and finally reinforced in Dayton and that all the additional issues about Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly those concerning these two nations, were cleared up there.

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[Kursumlic] Does this mean that greater democratic elements should be ensured for the implementation of the Federation?

[Komsic] Well, mechanisms have been envisaged both for the implementation of the Federation and the implementation of the entire agreement that was achieved, and this is the first time at negotiations that mechanisms of implementation of what was achieved have been ensured. This is the case with both the federal accord and the (?total) solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope that this will function. The great guarantor of the functioning of the Federation is its government, which will have to take (?power) over the entire territory.

[Kursumlic] [Words indistinct] there is a certain resistance to the Dayton accord. Mr. Zubak has resigned as Federation president. How do you, as a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, comment on these events?

[Komsic] Well, we are dissatisfied, and I do not think that a single delegation member was satisfied with the territorial solution. We were satisfied with the remaining solutions, as we had achieved more than 80 percent of what we were demanding, as it was our goal that the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina survive within its internationally recognized borders, and it was important to ensure that this state had an image before the world. This image is in its institutions and the powers that these institutions have. We have ensured that, but we were very dissatisfied and unhappy — and I can say so on behalf of every member of our delegation — with the territorial solutions, because the Contact Group plan, on which we insisted, was deviated from. Unfortunately, the Americans diverted from the principles of the Contact Group, which drafted the territorial solution and offered the plan. Even that plan was painful to us. You know that the only just solution would be for the Federation to have 58 percent of the territory and not 51, but we accepted 51 percent under pressure. Then, after they deprived us of quality within this 51 percent — this quality being Posavina — we were very dissatisfied. However, we did not even get quantity in exchange for that quality, as the ratio should be somehow changed then, you see. We should have received quantity in exchange for quality. The quantity remained the same, 51:49 and the quality is to our detriment.

Differences Among Bosnian Croats

LD2511200295 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] There are differing reactions to the Dayton Agreement among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vladimir Soljic, the defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and deputy prime minister, will tell us what these reactions are.

Good evening, Mr. Soljic. What are the reactions among Croats in Herzeg-Bosnia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the whole?

[Soljic, in Siroki Brijeg in Bosnia, via satellite link] This is a major event, and the reactions are correspondingly stormy and diverging, depending on what kind of hand — so to speak — each Croat area was dealt. The Croats in Herzeg-Bosnia and elsewhere in Bosnia are so unequally distributed and dispersed that it is impossible to find a solution that will satisfy all Croats. On the whole, I think that this is a good solution, and that the Croats who found their place in the global solution are quite satisfied.

There are different reactions in those areas that were given the most unjust deal — primarily Posavina.

[Announcer] What will happen in future negotiations concerning Posavina and Brcko? What will Croats insist upon? What is the point beyond which they cannot compromise?

(Soljic) It is very difficult to say now. The reaction in that centuries-old Croat area, the area that suffered the greatest losses [Posavina], is adequate to what happened there. We will do everything. Everything has been offered, we offered a much larger area in exchange for Posavina, but nothing worked. We will try to get Brcko through arbitration, because the issue of Brcko has been left up for arbitration. We will try everything to link up the areas of Odzak and Orasje, in order to ensure the survival of that area in geopolitical and economic terms.

[Announcer] What is the future of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia?

[Soljic] I would say that Herzeg-Bosnia has played its role. There would have been no Dayton without Herzeg-Bosnia. As such, it will be transformed in line with the agreements, and it will die out in the process of building the federation's authorities so that they can fully protect Croat interests and completely replace Herzeg-Bosnia. Until then, Herzeg-Bosnia — as a form of Croat organization at this point in time — will remain in place.

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Bosnian Muslims' Reactions To Peace Accord

LBO: Peace 'Welcomed by All'

AU2711165695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Report by Velma Kursumlic on news conference by the Liberal Bosniak Organization, LBO, in Sarajevo on 27 November — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] reality just as peace is a reality and peace is welcomed by all peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Salih (?Foco) [LBO vice president], said at the news conference of the LBO today. The biggest achievement of the Dayton Agreement is the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent country within its internationally recognized borders. The Dayton Agreement halted the process of Bosnia-Herzegovina's dissolution, however, the virus of its division is still alive, especially among the leadership of the Serbian entity. For that reason, as the LBO believes, the international community should immediately call for the replacement of the current leadership of the Pale regime to facilitate the speediest possible implementation of the Dayton Agreement. The international war crimes tribunal in The Hague should also publish a more extensive list of war criminals as soon as possible. Only afterward can we talk about a more normal situation. The second task is for the international forces to arrive at the separation lines and the Bosnia-Herzegovina's international borders as soon as possible, which will safeguard its sovereignty. The implementation of the part of the Dayton Agreement that refers to the return of the refugees should be independent from the existing authorities. We must create all the legal bases that would mean the right to return. The most relevant task is the preparation and realization of elections, which is a precondition for everything, for peace and the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the LBO believes.

If the more relevant international factors do not (?support) the elections, (?the situation) will remain unchanged. The three ethnic parties will continue to dominate, which is a great danger for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Another two opinions are important for the future constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, namely, the existence of the independent media and the strengthening of the civic (?front) of political parties. In Dayton, all preconditions have been created for the federation to come to life in practice, in the absence of any objective state or political obstacles. We advocate the elimination of all forces that would not allow its realization on both sides, it was stated at the news conference of the LBO today.

MBO: Results 'Below Expectations'

AU2411183995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] has reacted harshly to the results of the Dayton peace negotiations. At a news conference today, MBO representatives expressed dissatisfaction both with the internal territorial division and the constitutional-legal principles. Samir Huseinovic has the details:

[Huseinovic] The MBO supports the efforts of Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the Dayton peace negotiations. However, it stresses with regret that the results of the negotiations are below expectations.

Mujo Kafedzic, the vice president of the MBO's Main Committee, expressed satisfaction with the positive solution of the issue of Sarajevo, which remains whole and undivided [words indistinct] Federation. The MBO also welcomes the halting of combat operations, which will [word indistinct] the lives of many citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a result of the Dayton negotiations.

But the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation [word indistinct] succumbed to pressures and made concessions that call into question the integrity and survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The constitutional and legal provisions are such that they will not only fail to ensure the reintegration of our state, but also call into question its future as a whole entity. This is supported by the provisions that divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into two entities, which are being given all the attributes of statehood. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not going to possess the instruments to implement state policy throughout the territory as the judiciary, police, and armed forces will come under the jurisdiction of the entities.

Nor has the territorial division, Kafedzic said, been (?solved) in a satisfactory way. The establishment of the so-called corridor is unacceptable as it leads to the breakup of [passage indistinct].

Apart from this, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation had full right to demand [passage indistinct] the MBO points out.

SDA: 'Hard Struggle' for State

AU2211210395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] has issued a public statement on the Dayton agreement:

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The Dayton agreement represents our (?investment) in peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This does not stop our persistent and hard struggle both for our state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosniak people, who have made the greatest contribution to the defense and preservation of our homeland.

The end of war in the region is the basic prerequisite for the building of peace. What is most important at this moment is the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina's survival [obstojnost] as a sovereign and independent state, preserving the cities of Sarajevo and Mostar as undivided cities, guaranteeing the right of return, and hindering the fascist factor from staying in power, which will be demonstrated in practice through the process of prosecuting and condemning war criminals.

What awaits us is a great task and hard struggle for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina society, for reconstruction and return. In this respect, the SDA will carry out additional organization and training. As the SDA has made a huge contribution in organizing resistance to the aggression and represents the leading force in the liberation struggle, its interests in the coming elections remain linked to the goals of the liberation struggle and the Bosniak people's right to win full freedom.

The SDA will win the struggle for people's return to all parts of our state, regardless of the current situation, as well as for the citizens' freedom and security, and human rights throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Posavina Croats Protest Dayton Agreement

AU2811105795 Paris AFP in English 1035 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 28 (AFP)—A crowd of 700 angry Bosnian Croats laid siege early Tuesday [28 November] to the Zagreb town hall, protesting at the terms of the Dayton peace agreement.

The crowd, mostly aged in their fifties and sixties and largely composed of women, screamed abuse at government officials when they appeared at windows of the building and called for President Franjo Tudjman to come and speak to them.

Officials were not immediately available to confirm that Tudjman was present in the building but one policeman said the police had asked in vain for the crowd to disperse so that the president could leave.

The Croatian president has been due to formally open the new Croatian parliament on Tuesday, seeking a vote of confidence in the incoming rightwing government.

Protesters, angered by clauses in the Dayton peace deal giving Bosnian Serbs control of the traditionally Croat Posavina area of northern Bosnia, called Tudjman "a traitor".

"Tudjman is a traitor ... Tudjman is a dirty communist", women shouted.

Placards held aloft by the Croats said: "Dayton = Treachery."

Police were ringing the entrance of the town hall building, which is a few hundred meters (yards) from the parliament, and struggling to keep back the crowd.

FRY Bureau Chief Welcomes Dayton Deal

AU2411193995 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by "M.P.": "Mutual Recognition Is Approaching"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The small diplomatic team of the Bureau of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Zagreb, which was, in spite of everything, the first herald of peace here, was especially happy and encouraged by the Dayton peace agreement. We asked bureau chief Veljko Knezevic to comment on this:

"There is no benevolent man who does not support the Dayton agreement today. The valuable peace is finally returning to this area. I would like to express my personal pleasure as the head of the Bureau of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Zagreb that the Yugoslav delegation led by Slobodan Milosevic was successful in the long and delicate talks. The contribution of the Serbian side had already been expressed during the Dayton negotiations by signing the agreement on the Srijem and Baranja regions. I would also like to pay tribute to the delegation of Croatia and the Muslim-Croatian delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina for their work.

We now have to work on the detailed elaboration and implementation of the agreement.

The removal of the sanctions from Yugoslavia will enable its free economic recovery and general progress. One of the first political steps will be the mutual recognition of Yugoslavia and Croatia. Full cooperation between Serbia and Croatia in the territory of the former Yugoslavia is one of the most important factors for a stable peace in the region. I am happy that it can realistically be expected that all the problems of refugees and displaced persons will be solved," Veljko Knezevic told VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

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Athens Bans Entry to Macedonians Born in Greece

AU2811103895 Skopje MIC in English 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Associations of Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia issued an announcement yesterday which says that Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] citizens originating from the Aegean part of Macedonia are being sent back by Greek border officials, in their attempts to enter the Republic of Greece. The Greek border officials are conditioning their entrance with the signing of a Greek name in the place of birth, for instance Florin, Castoria, etc. A substantial number of Macedonian citizens are also required to have their Greek name and surname written in their passports.

"We feel that these actions are not in the spirit of the agreements on free communication between the Macedonian and Greek citizens, and we want the Macedonian Foreign Ministry to take appropriate measures to protect the rights of our citizens," the announcement says.

Personnel Changes Reported in Interior Ministry

96BA0012B Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Oct 95 p 3

[Article by Z.P.: "More Chiefs Replaced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The most extensive personnel changes of the police were made recently. As we learned, some 20 heads of sectors and administrations were replaced.*

As of last July when, as a result of a resolution of the government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Grozdan Cvetkovski lost his position as director of the Center For the Training of Personnel in the Field of Security, changes continued to be made in the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. A partial reason for this is the current reorganization of the ministry; it is also partially the result of the government's action to eliminate deviant manifestations in the administration of the state (Blagoja Toskovski, former head of the MVR Administrative Affairs Administration). The latest action involved the "horizontal transfer" of Stanoja Bogev, the first police general, from his position as deputy minister for police affairs, to director of the center.

As we learned recently, some 20 heads of sectors and administrations within the ministry and the city administration have been replaced. For example, this includes the former head of the GUVR [City Internal Affairs Administration] in Skopje, Alekso Donevski, who was replaced by Spiro Nikolovski; Petar Naumovski, head of the traffic administration of the MVR was replaced by Branko Bojcevski; Zdravko Nikolovski, former deputy chief of the political administration, was replaced by Jordan Lamanovski, chief of staff of the minister; Tome Nikolovski, head of the sector for prohibited commerce of the MVR, was replaced by Aleksandar Stojkovski; Slavko Cvetkovski, head of the economic crimes sector, was replaced by the recently relieved Rote Zaovski, deputy head of the Skopje GUVR. Vasile Janevski, head of the general crimes sector of the MVR, was replaced by Kire Mitic, and so on. We have unofficially learned that personnel changes are taking place also within the Security and Counterintelligence Directorate. Other leading personnel of the ministry have been replaced as well.

Rejection of Frckovski's Resignation Analyzed

AU2511154795 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by A. Soljakovski: "Absolved of Responsibility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As we know, a few days ago Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's office issued a statement in which the prime minister said that he had not accepted the resignation of Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski, which was offered to him as a moral act following the attempt to assassinate President Kiro Gligorov.

The brief statement explained that the prime minister had understood the offer to resign as a "democratic and high moral act," as an expression of the responsibility of the minister at the head of the Interior Ministry who is responsible for the overall security in the state, and, therefore, "also the personal security of the president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], as the highest institution in the state." Because of the "complex circumstances" that produced this terrorist act, however, as well as the "importance of the future assignments on this plan," Prime Minister Crvenkovski decided not to accept the resignation. He is asking Minister Frckovski to "continue to carry out his duties with complete engagement."

This was the epilogue to the suspicions and confusion surrounding Minister Frckovski's resignation: Some desired it, others could not understand it because they considered it nonprincipled and as going beyond the ordinary moral and democratic norms.

We say "confusion" because the fact that Minister Frckovski's resignation was announced at a news conference on the results of the investigation on the assassination attempt (this was the minister's first public appearance after the attack) generated a lot of confusion: Did the

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minister submit his resignation or did he just offer himself a possibility for withdrawal by placing the burden of his personal understanding of moral responsibility on someone else's shoulders (the prime minister's)? In other words: Can a personal sense of responsibility be justified, covered up, or absolved with explanations that have been extorted for political reasons, even if they are of greater state or security significance?

Regardless of whether it was a verbal or written resignation (it was not publicly revealed in which form it was submitted to the prime minister), the fact is that Minister Frckovski had not really intended to resign, but made a "trick" that made it possible to shift responsibility onto the prime minister.

Here are the reasons that such an epilogue was expected since the outset: The resignation will not be accepted and the responsibility will be absolved.

However, despite the fact that the minister's resignation was marked by political and security aspects, the institution called "resignation" will finally acquire its real and generally accepted framework of democratic practice.

As Minister Frckovski "shifted" responsibility to Prime Minister Crvenkovski, and government spokesman Ismail also said that it was not a problem of the government but of the prime minister himself, it was logical to expect that the prime minister himself, and not his cabinet, would announce his decision on the resignation.

In any case, many questions remain: The resignation was not accepted, for the purpose of enabling Minister Frckovski "to continue to carry out his duties with maximum engagement." Has he been engaged to the maximum so far? What are the results of his engagement now, 40 days after the assassination attempt, and what has the Interior Ministry done to clarify the assassination attempt? Public opinion is not assured that the service headed by Minister Frckovski has been engaged to the maximum either before or since the assassination attempt, because there has been nothing but assumptions, speculation, suspicion, and announcements that the investigation is close to revealing the perpetrators.

Aside from the interparty interpretations and marketing among the ranks of the ruling parties, aside from the paranoid atmosphere created throughout Macedonian society after Minister Frckovski's statements about the involvement of internal interests aimed at "reconstituting the authority," when everybody felt that he himself was involved and in some way directly included in the struggle for power and in the service of foreign interests, the public was not informed at all about the progress of the investigation.

Since the press and some journalists, given the complete silence of the competent sources of information, were accused of conducting "foolish private investigations," is it not possible to say the same about the investigative bodies, which are committed by the constitution to public work in the field that is not contrary to the interests of the investigation and the state?

It is really necessary to answer the question why the prime minister has found a justification and absolved his minister of responsibility. The prime minister has done this not only politically but also partly in the sense of moral responsibility, which was the motive for Frckovski's resignation. If we can understand the first aspect, the second, the moral aspect had to be decided by the minister himself. Ultimately, the moral sense is a deep personal feeling, a feeling for one's own integrity and character, and therefore it is something more than a case of pure political constellations and games, something more than pragmatic policy, something more than power for the sake of power.

We can partly understand the reason that the prime minister does not want to part from, as many say, one of his most important associates. It is really a pity that Frckovski, who is unquestionably a popular and talented politician, was forced (and obliged) to offer his resignation because of the constellation of the arguments, because of a drastic event (the assassination attempt). However, this is a problem of politics. In politics, politicians are responsible for what they have not done (and ought to have done), but also for what others do! This is a fact, although it is sometimes unfortunate, and it is probably the reason that honor is lofty in politics and defeat so painful.

It is quite unnecessary to discuss all these rumors and claims at length, because this could create a climate that is not only unhealthy and politically unproductive, but it could serve as grounds for the thesis on which the architects of the attack on the president counted—that Macedonian politics relies only on one, two, or three persons. Ultimately, it would mean an irresponsible acknowledgement of a weak political position.

It would certainly have been more reasonable if the question of Frckovski's resignation had been approached in a political way, in which the dignity of his personality would have been primarily taken into consideration. This would have removed all possible implications from his resignation and saved him for another duty or position. Saving him "at all costs" could engender further unpleasant implications because he now becomes the target of political manipulation, unpleasant memories, and even blackmail. With the mortgage of being a pardoned politician, which he will

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carry until the end of his mandate, Frckovski will not be able to operate at the same level as before, in the government or outside.

So much for the moral and political aspects. The social consequences of refusing his resignation are much more serious.

A question arises concerning the level of democracy in our society, considering that for a month and a half public attention was focused on the question of whether the first policeman would in fact submit his resignation or not.

There is also the question about the modalities for classifying the most responsible political figures. (Let us recall: Minister Pesev also resigned from Crvenkovski's government for moral reasons, although his direct responsibility for the air crashes was not confirmed). Is it possible that by granting an amnesty to Frckovski the principle of inviolability of political office is promoted, and this is something we believed to have left far behind us? How will the authorities continue their work to create order in the administration and have more responsible civil servants if no one is to take responsibility for the biggest criminal act committed in Macedonia in the last 50 years?

All these things certainly raise questions about the democratic climate in the country. If in the last few years this country has demonstrated that it can exist in spite of all possible scenarios, dark expectations, blockades, and even direct threats, that even an event such as the attempted assassination of the president could not destroy the institutions of the system, it is quite careless to do things that are perhaps not written down and yet represent sensitive democratic norms. This society has shown that it possesses a very high sense of political nuances. It can tell the truth from the lie. This was actually well remarked by Minister Frckovski at his news conference, when, speaking about the functioning of the state institutions, he said: "We will either make a state or play a state." Each one of us will have to conclude for himself what really happened in the case of Frckovski's resignation.

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Milczanowski, Bartoszewski, Okonski Dismissed

LD2811124495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1213 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 28 Nov— Before the start of today's government meeting, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that he had signed the dismissal documents of the ministers of internal affairs [Andrzej Milczanowski], foreign affairs [Wladyslaw Bartoszewski], and national defense [Zbigniew Okonski]. The ministers will continue in office until 20 December because they asked for their resignations to come into force on that date, and "I have approved their requests," Oleksy said.

When asked the names of the new ministers, he said "the matter has not yet been finalized." He will make an announcement as soon as he arrives at a "final decision."

Solidarity Files Charges Against Kwasniewski

WS2711135795 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 25-26 Nov 95 p 2

[Article by "KES, KNYSZ, SS": "Did the President-Elect Deceive Voters? Kwasniewski Did Not Graduate From the University of Gdansk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The public prosecutor's office is to decided whether Aleksander Kwasniewski misled voters by providing false information about his education. The reason for this action is that information on this offense was submitted yesterday to the Warsaw prosecutor's office by the Opole Silesia Region Solidarity.*

"We will institute appropriate proceedings. Today we will decide whether we will check the validity of the information or begin an investigation," said Jerzy Zientek of the Warsaw prosecutor's office. Yesterday Gdansk University [UG] President Zbigniew Grzonka said that the fact that Kwasniewski's campaign staff questioned UG's information regarding his incomplete education was an act "against the good name of the university": "He failed to pass two examinations and did not receive a positive grade in one of the subjects required during the ninth semester of the Transport Economics department. On 5 October 1978, he was crossed off the list of students. He did not finish his studies at UG, did not earn a master's diploma, and did not graduate from UG."

Yesterday the "Wiadomosci" newscast on Polish Television's First Program recalled a statement Kwasniewski made for the Third Program of Polish Radio on 16 October: "Did you defend your master's thesis at UG?"

"Yes, at UG."

"Are you a graduate of the Foreign Trade department at UG?"

"I am a graduate of UG."

Kwasniewski Admits Not Receiving Master's Degree

LD2711193095 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for the POLITYKA weekly, the first one granted by the president-elect to the Polish media, Aleksandr Kwasniewski admitted that he did not complete his university studies by receiving a master's degree. He added that he had passed all of the exams at the Gdansk University Foreign Trade Department with very good grades and that he had been one of the best students.

Aleksandr Kwasniewski admitted, however, that he had a certain feeling of lack of fulfillment and that he now regretted that he did not formally complete his university course with an M.A. thesis. He explained that the reasons were a kind of nonchalance, a belief that it was not really important, and a desperate need for freedom that he felt all his life. Dismissing the importance of a diploma was an expression of that need for freedom.

The president-elect thinks that to question the election results today would mean plunging Poland into a state of real destabilization.

Aleksandr Kwasniewski also told the POLITYKA weekly that he wanted his chancellery to be run by a team of competent people with authority. He said that his most important tasks were to provide help in passing the budget law and in preparing the new privatization law, and to pass the constitution.

President-Elect Kwasniewski Views Priorities

AU2811112795 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Nov 95 pp 154-157

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, Polish president-elect, by Andreas Lorenz and Joachim Preuss; place and date not given: "The Hardliners Have All Gone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Kwasniewski, before your election, you called on people not to condemn communism lock, stock, and barrel. What do you want to salvage from the old days?

[Kwasniewski] Communism had a variety of faces. The Polish and Hungarian faces of communism were less formal and dogmatic than those of the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and the Soviet Union. That was already apparent from the names of the parties: The word "communism" did not appear in the name of

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our party. I recall, for example, that DER SPIEGEL described Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski as a reform communist. Now, a few years later, everything is being lumped together, and the talks are only of the communists. One cannot compare Rakowski with Egon Krenz of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. That is too simplistic.

[DER SPIEGEL] The communists caused Poland enormous harm. Do you want to whitewash your party's past?

[Kwasniewski] My election campaign slogan of "Let's elect the future" does not mean that I want to deny the past. However, people's experiences differed so greatly that one cannot arrive at a common assessment of the past. It would only be a waste of time.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it not the case that old party comrades now want the new president to help recover power and influence for them?

[Kwasniewski] All of the hardliners have gone. It is simply not true that there is a group in the background waiting for a chance to stage a comeback. People like that already left in frustration in 1989, and we just would not have admitted them into our new social democratic party.

[DER SPIEGEL] So where do your members come from?

[Kwasniewski] No one seriously believes that real socialism was a good system—that would be crazy. Those who were flexible changed their opinion. May I remind you that, in 1990, our party backed former Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz's economic shock therapy?

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have anything against being called a technocrat?

[Kwasniewski] Technocrat is not wrong, but I would call myself a pragmatist. I was born in 1954 and studied during the 1970's, when party leader Edward Gierek was in power....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...a good friend of Helmut Schmidt....

[Kwasniewski] ...Yes, I remember when Schmidt sailed to Gdansk in a yacht. The ties between Gierek, Schmidt, and Giscard d'Estaing were very close. There was a sense of a new wind blowing at the time, and my generation believed that we could reform the system. In the end, Gierek was also a technocrat. It is no coincidence that support for me was particularly strong in the 35-45 age group.

[DER SPIEGEL] In 1980, when Solidarity was founded, did you feel you were in the wrong camp?

[Kwasniewski] It was an exciting time. You know, Solidarity did not seem to be antisocialist to me because many of its slogans had a left-wing orientation. I was a member of the socialist student organization, and, like millions of other Poles, I was torn between Solidarity and the party.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why did you not join Solidarity?

[Kwasniewski] This might sound funny today, but I thought that joining Solidarity was just the fashionable thing to do. I did not want to go along with the masses. I do not care for being a member of organizations. I was never in the scouts or the socialist youth organization. It was as a student that I first became a member of the party. It is not difficult for me to give up my membership in the Social Democratic Party now that I am president. I promise you that I will not be a member of any party until the end of my days.

[DER SPIEGEL] Poland appears to be irreconcilably split following your election, split into the former Solidarity camp led by Lech Walesa and your supporters. What will you do to overcome this divide?

[Kwasniewski] I do not believe the divide is that deep. It is more a question of the personalities involved. I can understand that Lech Walesa is very disappointed following his defeat....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...he is talking of election fraud and has announced that he is going to give you a tough time.

[Kwasniewski] Yes, that is not a good sign. However, my impression is that the Poles do not want any new sources of tension, but reconciliation and social peace. The country is big enough for everyone, including Lech Walesa. He now has to learn how to live as a former president. That is something quite normal in a democratic state: There is an incumbent president and several former presidents.

[DER SPIEGEL] So what should he do? Should he go back to his shipyard?

[Kwasniewski] I think that it would be a very good thing for everyone concerned if he were to continue working for Poland, in an international organization perhaps.

[DER SPIEGEL] Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin says that he hopes for better relations between Warsaw and Moscow following your election. The implication is that you will reconsider joining NATO. Will you listen to the Russians more than your predecessor did?

[Kwasniewski] Our relations with Russia are very important, and we must maintain better relations than has been the case until now. We have lost time over the past few years. Our strategic goals are clear. We want to

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be members of NATO and the EU. It is a question not only of security guarantees for us, but also of European unification. German reunification was the first step in that direction, and the admission of the neutral countries Sweden, Finland, and Austria was the second. The third step must be the expansion of NATO and the EU to include the states of Central Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] And Moscow should just accept that?

[Kwasniewski] One cannot foresee how the situation in Moscow will develop. The Russians are in the midst of an economic crisis, and they have Duma and presidential elections coming up. We should not allow that to make us nervous. We need relations at all conceivable levels: cultural, sporting, economic, and political. Moscow must understand that we do not want our entry to NATO to result in a new wall. We do not want to be united Europe's bastion on the eastern marches.

[DER SPIEGEL] Whom you appoint as foreign minister and as a defense minister will be an acid test of how oriented toward the West you are. Will you choose people from outside your camp for these posts?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, but is not easy. I have tried to talk to Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...who tendered his resignation immediately after your election.

[Kwasniewski] That is to his credit, but the election campaign is over. We now have to solve real problems. I would like to keep Bartoszewski. If that proves to be impossible, we will seek someone who is loyal to this government and enjoys recognition among our partners at the same time. However, I do not think it is that pressing a matter.

[DER SPIEGEL] But it surely is because, if you choose the wrong person, NATO admission could become more difficult.

[Kwasniewski] I do not like to talks about names at this stage, but a solution would be our ambassador in Washington, Jerzy Kozminski, who enjoys great recognition everywhere.

[DER SPIEGEL] During the election campaign, the church denied you the moral right to lead Poland. Has a Catholic people elected a godless president?

[Kwasniewski] I will work so diligently for my country that I will receive God's blessing.

[DER SPIEGEL] Were you raised as a Catholic?

[Kwasniewski] But of course. My mother was deeply religious all her life. You might know that she died during the election campaign, at a time when the attacks on me were particularly fierce. In a certain sense, I feel responsible for her death because it was all too much for her.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have any idea of how a reconciliation between the church and your camp would be possible?

[Kwasniewski] What we need in the relationship between the church and the state is normality. In my opinion, the church should rethink its role in Polish society. Its function under communism was clear: It was the most important opposition force. In a democracy, however, one does not need the church as an opposition. Apart from that, the church has difficulties with the free market, which brings consumerism and egoism with it. In the end, Poland's opening promotes new values, both good and bad. That is something that the church is not always in agreement with, when, for example, a film deals with the subject of homosexuality among priests.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you want to help the church in finding its place in these new times?

[Kwasniewski] That is not my job, but I do not want a struggle with the church. I want to talk with the church about two concrete problems. The new constitution should establish the separation of church and state. That was already proposed by former prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a man of the church. And we also have to talk about the Concordat....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...the treaty between the Vatican and Poland, which, for example, gives priests the possibility of refusing to perform the burial of a non-Catholic....

[Kwasniewski] ...one cannot decide about such important questions without a broad debate.

[DER SPIEGEL] You talk about the need for public debate as if it were something quite normal, as if public debate had been something quite natural in Poland for decades.

[Kwasniewski] Five years ago, during the first presidential election, there was hardly any public discussion. However, much has changed in the meantime, and we have learned a great deal. The media are becoming increasingly important, and society is becoming more mature exceptionally quickly. We now have at least four questions that are really important for people.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are they?

[Kwasniewski] First, the new constitution. Second, the reform of the social insurance system. Third, membership in NATO. And fourth, EU admission.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are people really interested in such complicated issues?

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[Kwasniewski] During my election campaign, I was in Parczew, a small town in eastern Poland. I had my most interesting discussions of the election campaign on the subject of NATO admission in a soccer stadium there. The question of whether foreign troops will be stationed in our country and whether we will have to store nuclear weapons are all issues of great concern to citizens.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you want to say that you and your people have developed a better understanding of the mechanisms of democracy than some Solidarity heroes?

[Kwasniewski] We are open-minded and have carefully analyzed Western experiences. When I was a student, I went abroad quite often, to the FRG for example, to Wuppertal, and, in 1976, I spent three months in America. It quickly became clear to me that Soviet-style socialism was not the best system in the world. I was fascinated by the social democrats in Sweden and especially in Spain. Felipe Gonzalez is my hero.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why is that?

[Kwasniewski] Because the situation in Spain resembled that which existed in Poland. The issue in both cases was that of establishing a democratic society and achieving reconciliation. In addition, Gonzalez knows how to win elections—and that is perhaps the most important thing for a politician.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you get on with the German Social Democrats? Do you know Oskar Lafontaine, the new party chairman?

[Kwasniewski] In 1990, when he was a candidate for the office of chancellor, he was the first guest I received on becoming chairman of the Polish Social Democrats. He visited me in the large old party building, where there were many paintings loaned by the National Gallery to the Communist Party that were hanging on the walls. Lafontaine thought we had just removed the Marxist saints from the walls because you could still see spaces on the walls that were much lighter. A young man amid that dusty old decor must have created a very strange impression on him.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your party, like the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] in Germany, is a communist successor organization. Was the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] not afraid of having contact with you at first?

[Kwasniewski] Yes, but last year, it finally helped us to become a member of the Socialist International. Rudolf Scharping was in Poland, and I said to him: We are both representatives of a new generation that is not responsible for everything. I cannot have any influence over what was done by General Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Rakowski, and you cannot do anything about what Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, and Hans-Jochen Vogel agreed to with the Polish United Workers Party.

[DER SPIEGEL] Listening to you, one sometimes gets the impression that you could have given Scharping some advice about image presentation.

[Kwasniewski] Perhaps I really should have done that.

[DER SPIEGEL] Atmospheric disturbances keep occurring in relations between Bonn and Warsaw. What will you do to avoid them in the future?

[Kwasniewski] The relationship is excellent. Chancellor Kohl genuinely wants to expand the EU, and he wants Poland to become a member. Cross-border trade is booming and Germans are investing more after initially just focusing on the former GDR.

[DER SPIEGEL] But are Poles' attitudes not shaped by reservations concerning the Germans stemming from history?

[Kwasniewski] That is declining. A recent opinion poll showed that 70 percent of Poles consider the Germans to be the nation that is friendliest vis-a-vis the Poles. We should finally bury old prejudices. Then there is another point that is very important for the future: the German capital.

[DER SPIEGEL] What do you mean?

[Kwasniewski] Berlin is only 80 kilometers away from our border. The city and the surroundings are attracting a great amount of capital. That means new jobs, consumption, and growth—all of which will also benefit us. Poles in the western voivodships can reach Berlin's airports faster than Warsaw. We are also hoping for more tourism from Germany.

[DER SPIEGEL] Perhaps you could persuade our chancellor to visit one of the Mazurian lakes instead of the Wolfgangsee.

[Kwasniewski] You chancellor regularly goes on dieting vacations. That is something you can do very well in Poland, as you can see from me. I have just lost 15 kilograms in four months.

[DER SPIEGEL] How did you manage that?

[Kwasniewski] I was very disciplined during the election campaign: no alcohol, no meat, no bread, and one hour of tennis every day. I think you can conduct an election campaign far more emotionally and more dynamically if you are a little hungry.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Kwasniewski, thank you for the interview.

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Comment: Kwasniewski Unwilling To Face Truth

WS2811090195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 95 p 5

[Commentary by Krzysztof Gottesman: "Facts and Declarations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A week has passed since Aleksander Kwasniewski's electoral victory. This period has been dominated by the social campaign of collecting signatures of people who protest this election. The motives of this campaign are well known. The protesters do not like the idea of the highest office in the state being held by a man who—no one doubts this any longer—has used false information and false excuses in his public activity. This goes not only for the issue of his education.

Kwasniewski won the elections with the slogan "A Poland for all." What the president-elect and his closest political supporters have been doing for the past few days shows that, unfortunately, this slogan is nothing but a catchphrase.

It is very likely that now we will have two Polands: a Poland of values and truth, on the one hand, and a Poland where the striving for power justifies all means, on the other. Beneath the veneer of declarations of "strengthening the democratic principles of public life," which were made by the chief council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] on Saturday, there lurks a difficult-to-understand unwillingness to face the truth and to take a stand on it in public. Another matter has also appeared: the contradictory statements by Oleksy and Kwasniewski on state-owned shares in the Polisa insurance company.

On Saturday, Aleksander Kwasniewski resigned his membership in the SdRP. The party thanked him for his "work and commitment to forming and running a modern party of the Polish left wing." It also drew attention to such features of Kwasniewski as "tolerance, democratic style of action, sensitivity to the problems of others, method of conducting dialogue, ability to reach agreements, and ability to look into the future." However, there were no attempts to dispel the doubts that all of Poland is talking about today and that may give rise to a very serious political crisis.

In his election campaign, Kwasniewski emphasized the future and national agreement. However, this future, which he is presenting to the people as the president-elect, looks like a future of conflicts and disputes. If the victorious camp does not change its policy, then, unless the Supreme Court rules otherwise, in late December the new president's swearing-in ceremony will be accompanied by demonstrations and shouts: "We do not want a liar president." Is this the "Poland for all" that Aleksander Kwasniewski encouraged us to support?

Poll: Half of Elites Unhappy After Elections

WS2811124595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "CBOS for RZECZPOSPOLITA; Telephone Opinion Poll Among Elites; More Fears Than Satisfaction After Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Nearly all representatives of the Polish elites took part in the second round of the presidential elections.*

Most politicians and professionals supported Lech Walesa; one in two entrepreneurs turned out to be a supporter of Aleksander Kwasniewski. Nearly half of the respondents expressed some fears about the election results, while a little over one-fourth of them received them with satisfaction. The telephone opinion poll was conducted for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] a few days after the second round of voting.

Voting According to Views

Most of the respondents—88 percent—decided to go to the polls in the second round of the elections. Respondents who declared that they had leftist views proved to be the most "disciplined"—97 percent of them went to the polls. Those with rightist views were the most reluctant to take part in the voting—only 77 percent of them went to the polls.

In the entire group, Lech Walesa was the more popular candidate. He was backed by 52 percent of the respondents, whereas Aleksander Kwasniewski was endorsed by 30 percent. The rest either crossed off both candidates, thus casting an invalid vote, or would not divulge their preferences to the pollsters.

Among politicians and professionals (artists, journalists, scientists, lawyers, physicians, etc.) Lech Walesa was definitely more popular than his opponent. He was supported by 60 percent of politicians and 69 percent of professionals. Aleksander Kwasniewski was supported by 26 percent of politicians and 16 percent of professionals.

The preferences of entrepreneurs were quite different. Approximately half of them (51 percent) voted for Kwasniewski, and one in four (24 percent) backed Walesa. [passage omitted]

Monopoly on Power Detrimental to the Country

Nearly every other respondent (46 percent) reacted to the victory of Aleksander Kwasniewski "with some

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fears." One in four respondents reacted "with some satisfaction" 17 percent remained indifferent, and the rest were unable to specify their feelings or did not want to discuss them. [passage omitted]

Most of the respondents say it is a bad thing that the president comes from the group (Democratic Left Alliance) that is the strongest in the Sejm and that dominates the government. According to 34 percent, this situation is definitely detrimental to Poland; 29 percent believe it is "not very good" for the country. [passage omitted]

* * *

CBOS conducted the telephone opinion poll for RZECZPOSPOLITA on 23, 24, and 27 November 1995. Here is how the respondents (approximately 50 in each group) were chosen: politicians—selected proportionately to the number of votes the various parties won in the 1993 parliamentary elections plus people representing the entourage of the president; entrepreneurs—representatives of companies with the biggest volume of trade or production, companies listed on the stock market, and the biggest banks; professionals—people holding important offices in the media, as well as legal, scientific, cultural, and medical institutions.

Church Official Interviewed on Elections

WS2411114395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 95 p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary-general of the episcopate, by Cezary Gmyz; place and date not given: "Michnik's Poland and Rydzyk's Poland Lost"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gmyz] The winner of the presidential elections is Aleksander Kwasniewski, a man who represents a political formation that supports legalization of abortion, a formation that is against the Concordat and against the presence of the church in public life. Before the second round of the elections, the church unequivocally backed his opponent. Such a result of the elections is generally seen as a failure of the church.

[Pieronek] Presenting the problem in this way is tantamount to including the church in the group of those who fight for a political victory. In this case, the victory was political, but the church drew people's attention primarily to values. It wanted to see a configuration of forces in which these values have a chance. You yourself noted that in these elections, for example, the issue of the protecion of life was ignored, but I do hope the law on the protection of unborn children will not be amended. Nonetheless, if abortion were allowed in Poland, this would make it clear to us that in these elections the church supported not a concrete person but certain values. Also, I cannot agree with the thesis, which seems evident, that the church supported Walesa. The church did not take an official stand on the issue, even though individual priests and bishops publicly spoke about their sympathies.

[Gmyz] You also declared in public that you would vote for Lech Walesa.

[Pieronek] Nonetheless, I did not get involved in any political agitation. I did not break the law, nor did I exceed the powers of my office. I am allowed to have my own views. Let me ask when the prime minister makes an official statement and when he expresses his own opinion. In the election campaign, we saw many cases in which ministers explained that they were acting as private persons or that they were making official statements, depending on which version was more convenient to them.

[Gmyz] However, let me return to the question of whether the church lost these elections.

[Pieronek] The church loses when the human being loses, when something bad happens to him, when he makes the wrong choice in the moral sense. If he makes the wrong choice in the political sense, that is actually a matter of indifference to the church, even though it is not indifferent to people in the church.

[Gmyz] Right, but what about the fact that people indirectly expressed disapproval of the church's teaching—for example, concerning abortion? Is this not a failure of the church?

[Pieronek] Failure is too strong a word. However, already two weeks ago I said that if Kwasniewski won the elections, this would mean that the church failed to fulfill its educational role. [passage omitted]

A superficial analysis of the election results shows that the elections are proof of the people's maturity. The people had a sufficient amount of information on the candidates, platforms, and values; because they are able to use their own judgment, they made their own choices. It is a good thing that this is happening. Of course, the campaign itself certainly exerted influence on these elections. After all, someone used a well-prepared method, he sold his image as if in a good commercial, so we can only accept it.

[Gmyz] However, perhaps such a result of the elections is a social answer to, as they said, the church's meddling in politics, the introduction of religious lessons into the schools, the issue of the Concordat?

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[Pieronek] This cannot be ruled out. However, trying to specify what actually happened on 19 November, I must say that Michnik's Poland and Rydzyk's [head of a Catholic radio station] Poland lost. On the one hand, defeated were those who, in the hope of building their own ideas on debris, believed that it was right to destroy people of authority. On the other, defeated were also those who supported the concept that these elections may be imposed on the people; in line with this concept, people are immature and they must always be given guidance. [passage omitted]

[Gmyz] How does the church intend to get its messages across to those who chose Kwasniewski? After these elections, can the church continue to use the argument that Poland is 90-percent Catholic?

[Pieronek] This fact is beyond any doubt. However, beyond any doubt is also the fact that most of Kwasniewski's voters are Catholics—people who have at least been baptized in this church and who do not renounce it. I believe that false are the statements that were made before the elections that it was a choice between two systems of values, between the future and the past, between postcommunism and Solidarity.

[Gmyz] However, perhaps it was a choice between neopaganism and Christianity, as Primate Jozef Glemp said on Wednesday.

[Pieronek] The primate is, of course, entitled to express his view. I believe, however, that it is an oversimplification to adopt one criterion of the division that we witnessed. People went to the polls for a variety of reasons.

[Gmyz] You have announced that work on the declaration on the Concordat will not be continued. Is this a reaction to the election results?

[Pieronek] It absolutely is not. We made our stand clear before the elections, but we did not want to publicize it because of the ongoing election campaign; we wanted to avoid being accused of throwing one more glowing ember into the oven. [passage omitted]

[Gmyz] In your previous interview with ZYCIE WARSZAWY, you said that the closed stronghold that the church was before 1989 opened up; you said that once it opens up, it is no longer a stronghold. Is the church going to shut itself in again?

[Pieronek] No, it is not. On the contrary, I believe it will open up even more widely than before, even though there may be a short shutting-in period. However, I think that, if this happens, it will last for a very short time. We must read the signs of the time, and these elections certainly told the church a couple of things: something about the society, quite a lot about the state, a lot about the people living in this country, and an awful lot about the church itself. Therefore, it is a very good moment not to close our ranks in the sense of getting ready for a war. It is a good moment to think calmly, without emotion, how to live on and develop. [passage omitted]

Oleksy 'Saddened' by Catholic Prior's Comments

LD2711213895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that yesterday's comments by Father Szczepan Kosnik, prior of the Jasna Gora monastery, that the sanctuary's gates will be closed to people under the sign of the hammer and sickle do not serve well the dialogue between the state and the church. Speaking at a meeting in Siedlce, Jozef Oleksy added that he felt personally insulted by the prior's words:

[Begin Oleksy recording] That statement saddened me, ladies and gentlemen. Why? Because it can concern even me personally [laughter]; and I, frankly speaking, I used to be a visitor in Czestochowa, and I thought it was a good thing. Now the monastery's door, the doors of Jasna Gora, may be closed. It is a national sanctuary, not only a religious one, a historical and national place. This is too sharp, too demonstrative and not good from the point of view of seeking accord. I believe that it is motivated by emotions, regret after the elections, and bitterness.

However, I am against such sharp statements because they make dialogue difficult later, and dialogue, including state-church dialogue, must exist. [end recording]

Ombudsman Fears Breaches After Election Outcome

LD2811152795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Civil rights ombudsman Tadeusz Zielinski has expressed the fear that, after the presidential elections, the law might be regarded as a weapon and used in political struggle. He said that he will watch closely to check that civil rights are not breached.

Significant changes have occurred on the political scene. The electorate is fragmented, Tadeusz Zielinski said at a news conference. There is a fear that citizens' confidence in the state could be destroyed or undermined because of an inability to fulfill preelection promises. He also voiced concern that the reform of the social security system could be delayed because the highest offices would be focusing on other matters.

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The ombudsman also fears that the citizens' right to information could be breached and that freedom of expression could be abused by journalists. Sharp political clashes might delay a number of legislative processes. For these reasons, the ombudsman said, he would be vigilant and impartial and carefully watch for any signs of civil rights being threatened.

Solidarity: No Strikes Despite Court Ruling

LD2511101395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Solidarity chairman Marian Krzaklewski has said that, irrespective of the Supreme Court's verdict on the motions calling for the elections to be declared null and void, the union intends to take the case to the court in The Hague.

Krzaklewski gave assurances that, in the event the motion to annul the presidential election is rejected by the Supreme Court, the union will not call for mass strikes.

The Solidarity chairman expressed the opinion, however, that policies implemented by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will sooner or later lead to an outbreak of social protests, which the Solidarity union will join.

PK Head Encourages Joint Bloc Formation

WS2711155795 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by "POZ": "The Conservatives; Hall Encourages Formation of Bloc Similar to OKP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Let us form a great post-August group [reference to August 1980, when Solidarity came into being] similar to the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]," Conservative Party [PK] leader Aleksander Hall appealed on Saturday. "Unless this happens, the 1997 elections will be an even bigger failure of people of August than those in 1993."

"There is no room for several Solidarity blocs on the Polish political scene at the moment," Hall argues. "It is not a matter of sentiment; we must ask ourselves what alternative we have," Hall continued. "In the present parliament, the role of such parties as the Freedom Union [UW], Confederation for an Independent Poland, Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], and the Republicans is only symbolic."

The PK leader prefers a large bloc, one that would include UW, the One Hundred Movement, the BBWR, the Republicans, the Peasant-Christian Party, the PK, as well as the Christian-National Union and the Center Accord. The names of the parties were chosen as mere examples. "We do not exclude Jan Olszewski's camp," he assured us. "The thing is, however, that this leader is himself not very willing to cooperate for the time being."

Hall was rather vague when talking about who might be the leader of such a bloc. However, he ruled out Olszewski because of his political methods.

Hall also defended the independence of the media, stating that the attempt to recall the ZYCIE WARSZAWY chief editor is a sign of a certain tendency, "an act of indecently rapid retaliation" on the part of the forces that were represented by Aleksander Kwasniewski in the presidential campaign.

Rightist Leader on Joint Bloc Formation

WS2411155395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Nov 95 p 4

[Interview with Christian-National Union leader Ryszard Czarnecki by Wojciech Zaluska; place and date not given: "To Avoid the Fate of a Kamikaze"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zaluska] The balance of power in the state has been violently upset. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] has the president, the government, and a parliamentary majority. How should the post-Solidarity formations respond to this?

[Czarnecki] Cooperation, not attacks. Well, plus seeing the opponents where they really are—in the left wing.

[Zaluska] Lech Walesa recently encouraged formation of a single political camp. It would include parties from the Freedom Union [UW], then Solidarity ["S"], and finally the Christian-National Union [ZChN]. What do you say to that?

[Czarnecki] I do not think that today we need such civil committees as we had in the past. However, the result of the elections forces us to consolidate. The question is on what principle this process should be carried out and how sweeping it should be. Real differences cannot be obscured at the price of false unity.

[Zaluska] I cannot sense much enthusiasm in you.

[Czarnecki] This idea needs to be given some thought; it should be done calmly and without emotion. In addition, the opinion of Lech Walesa should be taken into consideration. The idea of forming one bloc may, for example, not be approved by declared opponents of UW (they will join Wrzodak afterward) and by those who are allergic to the right wing (these will go to the Union of Labor [UP]).

[Zaluska] What if such a Solidarity alliance proves impossible?

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[Czarnecki] In Poland there is a political base for a large right-wing group (where ZChN would play a significant role), a liberal group (UW), a peasant group (the Polish Peasant Party), and a leftist group (SLD, UP). The right wing should be open to the Union and to the peasants; it should form government coalitions with them.

[Zaluska] Where do you think is Lech Walesa's place? Is it in history books?

[Czarnecki] His place is certainly in politics. His natural political base is the right-wing electorate—more than 30 percent of the voters who backed him in the first round. For this reason, he should be the leader of a right-of-center camp, in which there would be room for both "S" (with its unique character, which it displays by staging demonstrations and strikes) and center-right and right-wing groups. We will, to be sure, retrace our steps on the way to a party system, but the necessity of limiting the domination of the SLD is more important than that.

[Zaluska] I still do not know what role Walesa should play.

[Czarnecki] He should not be the head of an executive committee of such a movement. Instead, he should be its patron; he should set strategic goals and be the uniting force.

[Zaluska] Jan Olszewski also wants to establish a movement—the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland.

[Czarnecki] Voters decided that Lech Walesa remains the chief politician on the right side of the political scene. Meanwhile, Olszewski and Wrzodak want to set the right wing against him. Judging from the statements made by them and by people close to them, it will be a dogmatic formation, and, where the economic side is concerned, it will be leaning toward the left wing. We want a right wing that will be modern and, at the same time, market-oriented, a right wing that will persuade conservative-minded people, small-town residents, to engage actively in capitalism.

[Zaluska] Just like Kwasniewski persuaded former members of the Polish United Workers Party?

[Czarnecki] In a way.

[Zaluska] Who is to be symbol of this right wing—Jan Lopuszanski, Henryk Goryszewski, or you?

[Czarnecki] Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan...

[Zaluska] Thatcher as a symbol of a bloc comprising right-wing parties and a trade union?

[Czarnecki] Our situation is different. We must think about whether we want to relegate trade unions to the position of organizations that primarily make demands or want to incorporate them in the reform movement, as the Italians did in the 1950's. I am in favor of the latter solution.

[Zaluska] Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz was to be the Polish Thatcher. However, the ZChN abandoned her.

[Czarnecki] Mrs. Thatcher was supported by the entire British Conservative Party. Mrs. Gronkiewicz-Waltz did not have a political base because she did not want to have it. She lost because that was her wish.

[Zaluska] You traveled all over Poland with her, and then you stopped doing that.

[Czarnecki] Actually, it was the president of the bank's decision. She did not want to be identified with the ZChN. She decided that our company did not serve her well. This happened long before we made our decision to endorse Walesa.

She also made another mistake. She refused to acknowledge that the right-wing electorate is three times bigger than the center's electorate. She wanted to attract the latter in her campaign; she was not sufficiently anticommunist. Walesa's power of prediction proved greater.

[Zaluska] The example of Kwasniewski shows what it means to be a good leader. Right-wing parties do not have such a leader. Even though I respect these men, Szeremietiew, Moczulski, and Lopuszanski cannot be compared to Kwasniewski, Borowski, and Oleksy.

[Czarnecki] We have time to do the searching. Today the most important goal is to increase the 30 percent of the electorate that is now ours. We will accomplish this by showing that we are able to play on a team.

[Zaluska] The ZChN factions linked to Henryk Goryszewski cannot forgive you for deciding to endorse Walesa too late. There are unofficial opinions that you should split with the party or even commit hara-kiri.

[Czarnecki] I suggest that those who are talking about hara-kiri start thinking how to avoid the fate of a kamikaze—the fate of political suicides who die at their own wish.

UOP: Espionage Charges Against Priests Absurd

WS2811124695 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Janusz Mlynarski in Przemysl and Jerzy Jachowicz: "Who Does Not Like the Poles in Kolomyya? The Priests Were Not Spying"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Charges that Polish priests were spying in Ukraine are completely absurd," Gro-*

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moslaw Czempinski, head of the Office of State Protection [UOP], told us yesterday.

According to Czempinski, since 1990 there has been a strictly observed ban on recruiting clerics to cooperate with the intelligence and counterintelligence services.

The official reasons that Piotr Buk and Jozef Trela, two Polish priests who had been working in Kolomyya for several years, were expelled from Ukraine on 20 November remain unknown.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs turned to its Ukrainian counterpart for an explanation, emphasizing the fact that the expulsion of the two priests violates international law.

On Saturday, KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, giving Ukraine's Security Services [SBU] as a source, reported that the Poles had been spying and exhibited a keen interest in the Ukrainian Army and military secrets. On the previous day, the SBU spokesman said that the issue was not excessively publicized because Ukraine wants to maintain good relations with Poland. That is why the priests were merely expelled, and not arrested.

UOP Will Examine the Issue Discreetly

We learned at the UOP Press Bureau yesterday that the whole issue is to be examined, albeit discreetly, by the secret services of both states, without involving the media.

According to an employee of the Press Bureau, the issue has to be handled very delicately because the secret services of Poland and Ukraine closely cooperate in many areas—for instance ,in fighting the smuggling of drugs and fissionable materials.

Antenna to the West

The majority of Polish priests working in Ukraine learned about the whole issue only yesterday, at the funeral of Bishop Rafal Kiernicki in Lvov.

"They were aghast at the absurdity of the whole thing," Tomasz Leoniuk, the Polish consul general in Lvov, told us.

It is said in Lvov that the secret services accused the priests of having a satellite dish and of receiving money and packages from the West by mail. The antenna is said to have served as a means of communicating with the headquarters of intelligence services, and the money was remuneration for espionage work.

Kolomyya Outraged

Churchgoers from Kolomyya and vicinities emphasize how devoted the two clerics were to organizing charity help for the poorest. Ukrainians were also among the beneficiaries. Over a very short period of time, the priests renovated the church in Kolomyya and several other temples in the vicinity.

In a telephone conversation with a Pole living in Kolomyya, we learned that his fellow nationals are outraged that the two priests have been expelled. They are sending protests to all possible authorities and institutions.

Who Is Afraid of the Poles?

It is said in the Polish communities that followers of the Orthodox Church and nationalists in Ukraine are disturbed by the growing influence of the Roman Catholic Church, viewing the process as an attempt at re-Polonizing the region launched by Polish missionaries. Approximately 220 Polish priests work in three Ukrainian dioceses (Lvov, Zhytomyr, and Kamyanets).

Walesa Vetoes Amendments to Income Tax Law

LD2511120895 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 25 Nov 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has refused to sign the amendments to the law on income tax levied on natural persons.

Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych received the letter informing him of the president's veto this morning.

Dailies Note Huge Interest in NFI Certificates

WS2411135195

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 23 November two major Warsaw vernacular dailies reported huge public interest in the first sales of shareholder certificates in the National Investment Funds [NFI] program, otherwise referred to as mass privatization.

GAZETA WYBORCZA, a left-of-center independent daily, carried a 350-word report in the GAZETA STOLECZNA supplement by "BLIK" entitled "First Owners." "The inhabitants of Warsaw stood in line for at least an hour to purchase their NFI certificates," the item says. People complained, however, that sometimes this took much longer. "We do not think two hours will be enough," an elderly woman said. The PKO BP bank offered a price of 32 new zlotys for the certificates that are sold for 20. "No one, however, was willing to sell," GAZETA WYBORCZA reports.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a centrist independent paper, carried a 350-word front page report by "BK" under the title "Certificate Craze." The author states that senior citizens were most interested in the program. "They bought certificates at one counter and immediately sold them at the next for 25-32 zlotys," the daily writes.

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SRI Chief on Economic Problems, Organized Crime

AU2711173295 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Corina Dragotescu on an SRI report on its activity between October 1994 and September 1995 presented to Parliament on 22 November: "The SRI Director Revealed the Big Mistakes Made in Guiding the National Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The much debated report on the activity of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] was presented in Parliament yesterday to an almost empty hall. The SRI had sent its activity report to the specialized parliamentary commission last September. The commission members discussed all its aspects in total secrecy. A few days ago, the report was distributed to the members of Parliament, too, but in a much more diluted form. Yesterday, SRI Director Virgil Magureanu made a speech, which, although based on this activity report and including many of its elements, was much tougher than the copy on each member's desk, on the basis of which they prepared their speeches.

Magureanu talked about managerial inability in the economy: "I have repeatedly said that the economic situation is the most difficult and disquieting one. Instead of being used at their full potential, economic resources are being seriously eroded by the managerial and administrative system and by the actions of certain external factors. Far from beholding a process of adjustment and redistribution of these resources, we are rather witnessing their progressive usurpation (despite the chaotic manner in which it is all taking place) through withdrawal of capital, inefficient administration, fraud, destruction, and the abandonment of facilities and investments. It is quite worrisome that this phenomenon has been spreading on a large scale and that certain entire sectors and subbranches, even from among those that should have prompted our economic recovery, have been ruined and dislodged. Lacking the chance of manifesting itself in a coherent and legal framework, private enterprise has developed in an anarchic and often destructive and fraudulent way, which has led to the loss of resources from the assets of government enterprises. Foreign investors have continued to show a relatively restricted interest by raising excessive conditions. As a rule, these investors apply to their Romanian partners the same standards that they apply to certain African countries. The management factors, whose competence and responsibility has been praised of late, are either not getting involved in the restructuring and privatization processes or are doing so only to their own or a third party's benefit."

Virgil Magureanu then referred to the sources of pollution that are continuously growing and about the decrease in medical assistance. There are epidemic risks, Mr. Magureanu said, adding that the SRI has warned last summer about the expansion of cholera cases, owing to the poor protection measures taken at the time.

A large part of his speech referred to the proliferation of organized crime. There are mafia-type structures organized in families, which have divided territory among themselves. They display a special kind of solidarity. The SRI director expressed his surprise that many of the people belonging to these groups carry legally obtained weapons. Romania is on the point of becoming the scene of disputes of a terrorist nature. There are already instances of weapons and drugs trafficking. The members of terrorist groups believe that Romania provides a friendly environment for their activities, which should not exactly flatter us.

The SRI director also spoke about the institution that he heads, saying that he is aiming to turn it into an elite institution. SRI officers are not monsters; three quarters of them are high quality intellectuals. For Director Magureanu, the "Anda Terrace" case [SRI officers were caught last summer shadowing two journalists from the ZIUA daily] was a double failure. "It has never crossed my mind that our officers would play espionage games in broad daylight," he said. Finally, Virgil Magureanu suggested that the guard and watch companies currently operating as private companies should be obliged to obtain the SRI's endorsement, too.

One by one, the senators and deputies referred to various points of the report. Each one examined some of its aspects, as a function of the party that he represents or his own interests. To this extent, one of the critical interventions belonged to deputy Horia Rusu [president of the Liberal Party '93-PL'93], who said that there was no need for the SRI to resort to its specific methods to find out the truth that PL'93 has been emphasizing for three years, namely, that the Vacaroiu government is a threat to our national security. Putting everything into a political context, Horia Rusu said: "From now on, the guilt belongs to the parliamentary majority that supports such a government." He also said that, at this time, the parliamentary Commission of Control of SRI Activity has turned into a commission controlled by the SRI.

In the same order of ideas, referring to the SRI director's statements on the economic situation, deputy Vasile Popovici of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] asked that the prime minister be summoned before Parliament to answer the accusations included in Mr. Magureanu's speech.

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'Prominent' PDSR Members From Timis Resign

AU2811111195 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Nov 95 p 10

[MEDIAFAX note: "Ten Prominent PDSR Members From Timis Branch Resign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ten prominent members of the Timisoara municipal organization of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] sent a protest to the party's Standing Delegation and to Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president], concurrently with announcing their resignation from the PDSR. Three of the signatories are vice presidents of the Timisoara Municipal Council. The group of 10 also includes university cadres from various universities in Timisoara. The protest was caused by the way in which the Timis County PDSR Council was recently elected. According to the document, attempts were then made to "restore the old practices of communism." The 10 are challenging the legality of the elections and insistently demanding that new elections be held "without preestablished lists." The crisis of resignations from within the PDSR broke out a few days ago, at both central and local levels.

PUNR Senator Intends To Set Up New Party

AU2711164795 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 22 Nov 95 p 8

[Report by Andra Aurora Manta: "While Accusing Gheorghe Funar and Ioan Gavra of 'Politically Entombing the PUNR,' Viorel Salagean Announces the Establishment of a New Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "In the next two weeks I will be setting up another party, a modern and moderate variation of the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party]," PUNR Senator Viorel Salagean told us yesterday.

He also told us that "the split in the PUNR is unfortunately imminent. The two gravediggers, Gheorghe Funar [PUNR president] and Ioan Gavra [PUNR vice president], are guilty of politically entombing the PUNR. They have brought the party to the threshold of disgrace, probably according to a well-conceived program coming from the outside. It is not important whether it was conceived by Cotroceni, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], or the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], taking into consideration Funar's origin. Hence, within the PUNR we will either achieve a movement to lead to the removal of the Funar-Gavra pair, who have done an enormous disfavor not only to the PUNR but also to the entire country, or this moderate current in the party will launch a new political movement. This step depends very much on the attitude that Valer Suian [Funar's opponent] will take under the new circumstances and on his spirit of cooperation."

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Drnovsek, Silajdzic Discuss Refugee Repatriation

AU2711170895 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As we already reported briefly earlier, the government delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, led by Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic, is paying the first official visit to Slovenia. The members of the delegation have held several talks this morning, first with the Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek. They were also received by President Milan Kucan and State Chamber Speaker Jozef Skoljc. This afternoon, the prime ministers held a news conference. Here is a report by Nadja Pengov:

[Begin recording] [Pengov] In the introduction, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic said that his delegation was paying an official as well as a friendly visit. He again emphasized Slovenia's correct attitude toward his country while it was going through its hardest moments.

Prime Minister Drnovsek said that the countries had many interests in common and that numerous possibilities for cooperation were opening. He also expressed hope that the businessmen would be able to establish good business ties soon.

According to Haris Silajdzic, they also discussed the refugees today. Bosnia-Herzegovina is interested in their speediest possible return. The most difficult question is how to return the refugees to the occupied territories. The only possibility is the reintegration of the entire territory, on which human rights would be fully observed. It is difficult to safeguard this right on the ground for the time being and that is why we need understanding right now, he said. He also hopes that, in this sense, an agreement between his and our country that would protect the interests of all would be signed soon.

The representatives of the finance ministries of the four countries of the disintegrated Yugoslavia will meet in Ljubljana tomorrow. The topic of the meeting—the succession. The positions of Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are similar:

[Drnovsek] Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course, insist on the stance that new countries have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and that all new states are equal successors.

[Pengov] And how does Silajdzic comment on Karadzic's statement about Serb Sarajevo last night? This opinion is irrelevant. The agreement will be signed in Paris and there will be no more talks. The individuals accused of the war crimes see a danger for themselves in the signing of the agreement, however, the peace process is not subordinate to personal wishes.

At the news conference, Drnovsek said that Slovenia had not received an official invitation to Paris yet, however, that such a possibility has been signalled. The government will decide about the modalities of cooperation over the next few days.

The government delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina will meet with Slovene businessmen this afternoon. Prime Minister Drnovsek expects that they will know how to use this opportunity for cooperation. [end recording]

Succession Talks Viewed as Unfavorable to Slovenia

AU2711212995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the peace accord in Dayton and the lifting of the sanctions against FRY, the problem of the succession of the former federal state is evidently still very much open. This is also suggested by the efforts of the Slovene representatives to preserve the former joint foreign currency reserves untouched. We should conclude the negotiations with foreign debtors as soon as possible and also gain financial independence. Tomorrow our delegation will travel to the United States again. Namely, apart from Germany, the United States is the only country that promised it would not release Yugoslav foreign currency and gold reserves until the successor states reach an agreement on it. Suzana Kos reports:

[Begin recording] It is clear that Slovenia will try to do as much as possible over the next few weeks to separate itself from Yugoslav finances and keep a portion of the former joint foreign currency reserves untouched. Namely, it appears that the framework for the succession talks set in Dayton is not favorable to Slovenia, Finance Minister Gaspari warned at the afternoon session of the parliamentary commissions for finances and the international relations. Its members were reportedly briefed primarily on the finalized, coordinated documents on the Slovene share and the manner of repayment of more than $4 billion of debt of the former Yugoslavia to a group of foreign commercial banks.

The latest events are evidently relevant for other succession issues, too. A proposal made by the Geneva Conference expert group for the succession of the former Yugoslavia suggests that we should regulate the relations with other debtors independently as soon as possible. Namely, according to the proposal of the above service, Slovenia would pay a good 20 percent of the debts of the former Yugoslavia, however, in return it would only receive 5 percent of its assents. When the deputies wondered this afternoon whether at all and how important the Dayton Agreement was for us, National

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Bank Governor France Arhar told them that he could not give a precise answer, naturally, because we were not present. However, bearing in mind that two parties usually negotiate at the expense of the third party, in the case of the Dayton succession agreement, this third party is definitely Slovenia.

Keeping all these facts in mind, the members of the parliamentary working commission for international relations and finances had no other choice but to emphasize the need to resolve the succession issues as soon as possible. Parallel to admissions by some members that they actually did not understood the subject matter very well, they also passed an opinion that the negotiating team with a group of commercial banks acted in accordance with their authorities. This also means that the National Bank governor and the finance minister will be able to send a letter to our debtors abroad in which they will propose that they support the agreement reached. For it to become valid, two thirds of the owners of the debt would have to support it before Christmas. [end recording]

Concerns Over Army Funding Cuts Discussed

AU2411153795 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Vodusek: "Dramatic Warnings Because of Scant Funds"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 14 November—Within the general debate on the budget, special attention should be paid to the appeal by the president of the Parliamentary Defense Committee for the most rational possible use of funds by all the recipients in the Slovene Army. Despite the warnings about diminishing funds in the defense budget over the past few years, this year's budget proposal does not stipulate how much will be allocated for repayment of capital and interest for the purchase of arms and military equipment.

Jozef Kopse [Committee president] placed special emphasis on the combat readiness of the Slovene Army, its transformation and integration into international military activities, especially peace operations, and its rapprochement with NATO, which must not slow down.

The debate from the last session of the Defense Committee continued today. Namely, the government representatives could not tell the members of the Committee exactly to what extent the basic development programs of the Slovene armed forces in the period between 1994 to 2003 would be implemented. Various additional expenditure is not specified anywhere. For example, it does not say anywhere where the money for a military vessel and a jet that we intend to purchase will come from, Zmago Jelincic warns.

In 1994, we passed a law to secure funds for the implementation of the armed forces' basic development programs in the period from 1994 to 2003. In one of these documents, the ministry establishes that over the past two years less money has been secured than envisaged by the law.

Initially, easily a billion German marks was envisaged for investment in the fundamental development programs of the armed forces. In 1994, 1.3 billion Slovene tolars was spent on it, which was the amount envisaged. The demands of the Defense Ministry for 1996 amounted to 10 billion tolars, but the government is proposing just 1.4 billion tolars.

In 1996, the money is supposed to be spent primarily to ensure control of air space and air defense, to modernize telecommunications and systems for antiarmor warfare, to supervise coastal defenses, and to modernize combat hardware.

"We must emphasize that either we have already undertaken obligations and signed agreements for these purposes or the procedures have advanced so far that halting them would cause great problems and have negative consequences. We need a decision on whether to complete the projects started in 1995 and planned for 1996 and secure funds from the credits, or to get used to the idea that, although the defense budget was passed, it will not be implemented.

"If the money from credits is not secured, Slovenia will not be able to build up its own defense system," a document by the Defense Ministry concludes dramatically in connection with the basic development programs. The law on the basic development programs envisages that the annual realization for purchases would not exceed 10 billion tolars.

There is still an arms embargo in force against Slovenia and for that reason the question arises as to whether it makes any sense to purchase hardware and equipment without the arms in the coming year. Critics of the purchases emphasize that purchases so far have mostly not involved combat equipment.

One can, naturally, understand the concern of the Defense Ministry representatives, who are expected to buy as much hardware as possible in the shortest possible time, while distributing the payment of credits over the next 10 years as the coming year is an election year. For that reason, it is realistic to expect that the majority of deals will be concluded within a very short time, while the credits and the interest will preoccupy parliament over the next two electoral terms.

The country, therefore, faces a major dilemma of either signing deals before the lifting of the arms embargo,

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since we must equip our army with modern hardware as quickly as possible, or simply waiting for the lifting of the embargo, which, as the U.S. defense secretary stated recently, is linked to the end of the Yugoslav crisis.

The modernization of the Cerklje air force base and reports about the purchase of an Israeli ship prove that the Defense Ministry will soon be purchasing ships and aircraft.

The Defense Ministry's budget, which in 1996 amounts to 1.25 percent of GDP, totals 32 billion tolars; half of this is intended for regular activities and, as has already been said, 1.43 billion tolars is intended for basic development programs, while the rest, about 14 billion tolars, goes to salaries and contributions.

Of course, the Defense Ministry's demand that 10 billion tolars be put aside for the purchase of hardware as a part of the basic development programs could additionally burden the budget by at least half of this sum, although it is not clear yet where the state would get the money.

Commentary Warns of Implications of Dayton Accord

AU2411194095 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Boris Jez: "Prevlaka Yes, Piran No!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman in his "message to the nation" on Friday [17 November] announced the possibility of exchanging the Prevlaka peninsula for the Dubrovnik hinterland. If Croatia actually agrees to this, new political facts will also emerge in the negotiations over Piran Bay and Slovenia's access to international waters. Primarily, the Croats are evidently willing to strike a compromise with the country that attacked them, but not with a country (Slovenia) that actually helped them in the war....

With the formal end to the war in the former Yugoslavia (which "officially" never existed), new circumstances are also arising for Slovenia, especially regarding relations with the southern neighbor. Previous talks on the border have been burdened primarily by the view that Croatia was at war and, thus, could not afford to make territorial "concessions," since making them would set a dangerous precedent for itself. With the exchange of Prevlaka and by unilaterally agreeing to widen the Posavina corridor to the detriment of the local Croatian population, the Croatian president has turned everything upside down. With this, the Piran Bay and Slovenia's access to international waters have finally been separated from the Balkan crisis and transformed purely into a problem of (good) neighborly relations.

Details about the planned exchange of Prevlaka are not yet known; however, it is clear that Tudjman could not have renounced just a little less than the 3-km-long peninsula that blocks the Bay of Kotor; in such a case hardly anything would change strategically. He would have to have ceded at least 10 km of coast to the opposite side (Montenegro or the Bosnian Serbs?), as this is the only way that Croatia can withdraw from the bay's territorial waters, which is ultimately the object of the exchange. By this, our neighbors—in exchange for "a pile of rocks" in the Dubrovnik hinterland—are also sacrificing a great chunk of their territorial waters, incomparable to what Slovenia would have "obtained" with its access to international waters.

Here we must also warn of some extremely important political facts. Croatia has agreed to a territorial compromise with the side that attacked it and even shelled Dubrovnik, which was a unique case of cultural genocide. To this very same enemy it is now ceding territory and territorial waters that are not important for its vital interest but are of military significance primarily. To put things very simply: Tudjman is willing to understand that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's gunboats (which fired at Split and Sibenik not so long ago) need access to the open sea, but not Slovenia, whose Koper harbor has exclusively economic interests.

Many might say that Croatia is going to receive something in return for Prevlaka, while Slovenia has nothing to offer. This is not true. Slovenia—if our information is correct—has already offered the so-called Tomsic's lot in the Sneznik forests to Croatia, which would have more than compensated for the Croatian "concession" on the sea, of course, had our neighbors cared to solve the problem. It must also be added that with Prevlaka Tudjman has actually only obtained a "pile of rocks" in the Dubrovnik hinterland which is militarily completely insignificant. A remark by a VJESNIK commentator that the besiegers of Dubrovnik had to withdraw their guns to the hinterland in order to aim more accurately is very interesting....

Therefore, Zagreb is demonstrating a high degree of cooperativeness with Belgrade, Pale, and Podgorica (Karadjordjevo?) while relations with Slovenia, which helped it in the previous war, also with arms, have been put on ice. On this side of the Sotla and the Kolpa, this could, of course, not be interpreted any other way than as a unique form of mini-imperialism by a power that fancies itself as a power or is a power. Or, to be very direct again: Croatia is taking out its political and other frustrations on somebody who is

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physically smaller but in all aspects more advanced and progressive. This simply irritates the national socialism of the Tudjman variety and that is why "the competition" must be obliterated as soon as possible.

The Slovene negotiators will have to take it to heart that they are not dealing with just anybody but with an extremely aggressive political factor, who does not observe all the rules of the game and is prepared to go "to the end." There is much proof of this. In the negotiations so far, Croatia has not yielded anywhere, although it should have been in its interest to improve relations with its sole friend, Slovenia. It is "stealing" Slovene property on its territory and, at least on the outside, remains oblivious to how the international community might react to this (but is more careful when it comes to Cimos, for example, because this is owned by the French).

All this is a signal to the Slovene Government that it should be very cautions in the euphoria of Dayton, as it is evidently no longer capable of seeing what is happening on the territory of the former Yugoslavia—where, if nothing else, a lot of Slovene property has been left. Slovenia was right to pull away from the "Yugoslav package"; however, the question is whether at this moment it would pay to direct the eyes of our politics toward the Balkans. The hint that Tudjman and Milosevic (therefore, without Slovenia) have agreed to certain aspects of the Yugoslav succession, says plenty....

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Federal

Romanian Premier, Delegation Arrive for Talks

LD2711131795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1102 GMT 27 Oct 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Welcoming Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, who arrived in Belgrade this morning on a two-day official visit to Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said that "the visit by the Romanian prime minister is of great significance, being the first official visit to Yugoslavia since the sanctions were lifted."

In a statement at Belgrade airport in Surcin following the official welcoming ceremony for the Romanian prime minister and the high-ranking delegation, which includes a number of ministers and businessmen, Prime Minister Kontic described as very important the fact that Romania reacted promptly to the lifting of sanctions by immediately removing all restrictions against our country.

The development of comprehensive relations with Romania "is at the top of Yugoslav foreign policy priorities. There exist both the political will and other conditions conducive to this," Kontic said.

"There are no open issues between us, an atmosphere of full trust and understanding prevails in our relations, and our economies are complementary," Kontic said. The resumption of the institutional forms of cooperation and specific projects to be discussed by the Romanian businessmen during this visit will create conditions for a new phase—we can call it a dynamic one—in our bilateral relations with Romania, Kontic said.

Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said he is pleased to be in Yugoslavia shortly after the agreement in Dayton was signed and sanctions against Yugoslavia lifted.

He noted that during Prime Minister Kontic's visit to Romania two years ago new business deals were agreed upon and contracts concluded to be implemented once the sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted. In other words, Vacaroiu said, "even in a difficult situation caused by the sanctions, political dialogue between Yugoslavia and Romania continued uninterrupted."

"We are now facing a different situation in which it will be possible to continue political dialogue and at the same time emphasize the further development of economic cooperation and specific efforts to this end," the Romanian prime minister said.

Vacaroiu went on to say that the existing tradition of good relations between the two countries will help efforts to continue successful cooperation. "The complementary nature of our economies will also help in the coming period to exceed the level of cooperation that existed before the embargo. This is why my delegation includes a large number of ministers and businessmen," Vacaroiu said.

Vacariou:'Constructive' Talks

AU2711172395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[Statement by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Belgrade on 27 November following talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic—recorded, in Romanian with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks with President Milosevic were constructive, just like the relations Romania has with Yugoslavia. I would say that these relations are extraordinary, particularly bearing in mind that, at the time of embargo, a regular dialogue was held at the level of heads of state and governments.

The initialing of the Dayton Agreement is an historic event. Romania has been ready to receive the suspension of sanctions and is now giving priority—and we also talked about this with President Milosevic—to resuming all forms of cooperation as soon as possible.

Most Favored Nation Agreement

LD2811000795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2340 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Romania will Tuesday sign an agreement on economic cooperation giving each other the status of most favored nation.

The agreement will be signed by Yugoslav and Romanian trade ministers Djordje Siradovic and Petru Crisan, who met in Belgrade on Monday, the Yugoslav Information Secretariat said in a statement.

Siradovic and Crisan said Yugoslavia and Romania were priority political and economic partners with highly complementary economies and great chances to reach one billion dollars' worth of trade in the near future, the statement said.

Romania To Deliver Gas, Oil

LD2711234495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2337 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 27 (TANJUG)—Romania is prepared to deliver 30,000 tonnes of gasoline and 15,000 tonnes of oil to Yugoslavia next month, the state secretary with the

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Romanian Industry Ministry Alexandru Stanescu said on Monday.

Deliveries would continue into until April next year, with 30,000 tonnes of oil and 10,000 tonnes of gasoline supplied to Yugoslavia every month, the Yugoslav Information Ministry said.

In talks with Deputy Agriculture Minister Slobodan Djokovic, the Romanian officials said they hoped traditional good relations would continue in the fields of petrochemistry, the metal-working industry and agriculture.

WEU Monitoring of Bulgarian Border Said To End

LD2311125995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 23 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—Western European Union [WEU] Observers responsible for monitoring the implementation of sanctions against the FRY on the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border, since this morning, have not been checking passengers and goods.

This news was supplied to TANJUG in Sofia by Pavlov [first name not given], the head of the Bulgarian customs in Kalotina, the largest and most import border crossing between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, on the international road from Istanbul to Munich via Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, and Vienna.

WEU observers went to their workplaces this morning as normal but did not do any work. They have not yet received instructions to withdraw from the border crossings and return home to Spain and several other Western countries.

According to Pavlov, since the early morning the only people at the border crossing are Bulgarian and Yugoslav customs' officials. The beady eye of the WEU is absent.

"We are waiting for the government's decision on the lifting of the sanctions in order to speed up traffic on the border between the two countries," Pavlov said.

WEU observers up until last night had a checkpoint in the Danube port of Vidin, where for three and a half years they have been stopping every ship. As from today ships have again been setting out for Belgrade.

Traffic at Border With Hungary Increasing

LD2311231095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2243 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Srdjan Basic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—The regime in force prior to the introduction of anti-Yugoslav sanctions has been re-introduced at the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, Hungarian customs and financial authorities set out Thursday.

This means that imports, exports or transport of goods via Yugoslavia no longer required U.N. sanctions committee permits and that two U.N. customs advisory missions have discontinued work.

One was the crew of a patrol boat of the Western European Union (WEU), stationed on the Danube at Mohacz, and the other a group of controllers from the E.U. and the OSCE, who were stationed at all border-crossings.

Thanks to a relaxed customs regime, the number of crossings had already gone up, especially on the border-crossings Tompa-Kelebija and Reske-Horgos.

Increased truck traffic was expected which would most likely use the highway towards Belgrade, which is much shorter than the one through Romania.

According to the Hungarian authorities, in the July 1993-November 16, 1995 priod, proceedings have been instituted against 447 persons for violations of the U.N. resolution on sanctions, while the value of temporarily impounded goods amounted out 5 million dollars.

In individual passenger traffic, violators were for the most part Yugoslav citizens.

The arms embargo continues in force and this was something the Hungarian customs officers were strictly applying.

This embargo, imposed against all the republics of the former Yugoslavia, was introduced by the U.N. Security Council in September 1991 and in keeping with the Nov. 22, 1995, resolution began its gradual lifting for a period of the next 180 days.

Trade Agreement With Bulgaria To Be Signed

LD2311143395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 23 Nov 95

[Report by Dusan Prazic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have on Nov. 20 in Sofia initialled, and on Dec. 11 in Belgrade will sign an agreement on economic and trade cooperation. Under the agreement, the two countries will grant each other the status of most-privileged nation in mutual trade and economic relations.

In Sofia it is believed that, after the sanctions are lifted, trade with Yugoslavia in 1996 will reach 360 million dollars, close to the average of the 1990's.

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During the sanctions and with the approval of the U.N sanctions committee, Yugoslavia's imports from Bulgaria had exceeded exports to this country.

The head of the office of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce in Sofia, Radivoje Andonovic, told TANJUG that this disbalance would be eliminated.

The new agreement especially calls for Bulgarian-Yugoslav trade to be carried out on an equal basis and according to mutual interests.

The two governments agreed to introduce a number of customs, tax and other benefits with the aim of promoting trade and securing longterm cooperation.

Bulgarian and Yugoslav experts, who prepared and initialled the economic agreement for the period following the lifting of the sanctions, estimate that the forthcoming economic cooperation will especially stimulate the development of the petrochemical, ferrous and machine-building industries, agriculture and food processing and transport.

The sanctions had halted the rising cooperation between the two countries, causing Bulgaria, it was said here, to suffer damages amounting to eight billion dollars.

Experts Criticize Montenegro's Port Initiative

AU2711084795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 11

[Article by Mirko Caric: "The Port of Bar Is Under the Jurisdiction of the Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The latest step that the Montenegro Government made during the recent visit to the United States, namely offering the port of Bar to the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, has provoked fierce reactions among experts at the Yugoslav Association for Constitutional Law. These professors have no doubt about the jurisdiction of the federal units. They also disagree with Milo Djukanovic [prime minister of Montenegro], who said, at a news conference upon his return, that "no consultations are necessary on the issues in question, because they are within the jurisdiction of the Government of Montenegro. That is how I see them...."

As far as that is concerned, the association recalls Article 7 of the Federal Constitution, which expressly says that a republic, within its competence, may conclude international agreements, but not to the detriment of the FRY or of the other republic. On the other hand, Article 6 states that a republic independently establishes its internal arrangements with its own constitution.

According to the Yugoslav Association for Constitutional Law, the interpretation of these articles does not permit international relations to be solved partially, within only one federal unit. Foreign policy is an integral part of the federation and that, together with the single army, is, the experts say, the minimum of rights for a federal state. In that respect, the port of Bar comes under the jurisdiction of the federation.

They also wish to recall that the opening of consular departments—of the United States in Montenegro and of Montenegro in the United States—is a typical political way of implying separate policies rather than a single federal system. Consular departments are not trade agencies, although the Federal Constitution can be criticized for the unclear provisions regulating the issue. Namely, Article 7 states that a republic can maintain international relations, establish its own representative offices in other countries, and join international organizations. Jurists interpret this exclusively in terms of commercial relationships and various forms of cultural cooperation, but by no means as some sort of political secession from the federation. [passage omitted]

Offering the port of Bar to be used by the "blue helmets" is not the same as in 1992 when it was offered to be used in transporting humanitarian aid. As usual, the idea that originated from the Americans suits them more than anybody else, because that is the cheapest kind of transport and the shortest route. However, in this case Montenegro has simply stepped out of the framework of the Federal Constitution and, if nothing else, they should first have consulted the Yugoslav Army Command—the jurists recalled.

Bank Governor on Economic Program, Devaluation

AU2511205395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 95

["Excerpt" of interview with National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic by Dusko Petrovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petrovic] Good evening, Mr. Governor. Could you please tell the public what Program 2 contains?

[Avramovic] Good evening. It will be my pleasure to say something tonight about the program that has been created over a fairly long period of time, the program that our public already knows a lot about.

The Council of the National Bank approved this program in Milocer on 6 November. This evening, the federal government met to discuss it. It, too, has made the decisions that are needed for the implementation of this program.

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The basis of Program 2 is to increase the competitiveness of our economy. The competitiveness of our economy needs to be increased for several reasons.

Reason number one is that without it, there would be no increase in income, there would be no rapid increase in income that we need to reach at least the level at which we had already been on several years ago. Second, it is needed in order to employ people to the maximum, as we do have a problem of unemployment. We have people without jobs, on the one hand, and refugees who will stay here on the other.

Number three, we have to ensure an increase in real wages. After a significant increase in 1994 and in parts of 1995, wages have been stagnating, and in the past few months they have even fallen. This situation must be changed as soon as possible.

Next, only by increasing competitiveness at home and in foreign markets can we secure the stability of prices. As you know, we had exceptionally stable prices in the first eight months following the reform of 24 January, but later we experienced a significant rise in prices, especially during the summer of this year. The situation has somewhat stabilized now, but the problem is still there, and this can only be solved through a massive increase in production in a competitive market.

Next, we must increase revenues in order to meet the state's necessary expenditure, especially that concerning the pensioners' status, which has deteriorated. There is an enormous demand for that, and this represents a challenge to our society.

We are now in the position to increase our competitiveness considering the exceptional circumstances stemming from the lifting of the sanctions. With the lifting of the sanctions, there will no longer be any barriers. There will be no significant, effective barriers to our exports. Because of that, we will be able to use our capacities much more than has been the case during the blockade.

Finally, only by increasing our competitiveness can we attract foreign capital that is needed here. Our savings are insufficient today to finance reconstruction of our capital stock and further growth. We need the domestic capital that is currently abroad. We also need foreign capital. This capital will not come if our economy does not become competitive.

Increase in the competitiveness of our economy demands at least two key things that are new to our system. The first thing that we must do is liberate our market, our internal market, and liberate our outside market. Regarding the liberalization of the outside market, only if we succeed in restoring the value of the national currency and eliminate the bulk of our barriers to exports and imports can we secure the stability of prices at home.

One of the main reasons for drafting this program is exactly this. After a very successful experience that lasted several months in 1994, we had to abandon the convertibility of the dinar for a number of reasons. It is high time now to return to convertibility. Only the firm value of the currency will secure the stability of domestic prices, especially if we have the liberalization of imports at the same time. The threats with imported goods would keep domestic producers at bay and would not allow increases in mark-ups, which have frequently happened in our country and have frequently been very high.

We can sustain convertibility by going to the market exchange rate. As of tomorrow morning, the National Bank will apply a new exchange rate of 3.3 dinars for 1 German mark. This is a market exchange rate. We are not devaluing in relation to some imaginary figure but are only confirming market reality. This exchange rate has already been built into our prices. Therefore, one should not expect any significant, serious increases in prices. This is number one. Number two, we have reserves to maintain this exchange rate. Our reserves today are equal to one-half of the total primary issue of money of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and one-half of the total money supply.

Discusses Post-Sanction Exports

LD2411135295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1316 GMT 24 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National (central) Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic has said that the Yugoslav economy can realize half of its social product through export deals after the suspension of the U.N. sanctions.

Avramovic said in an exclusive interview to TANJUG that the suspension of the sanctions has enabled Yugoslavia to resume trade with foreign countries, to export its goods and earn money.

He emphasized it was important not to let firms and especially, the state, saddle themselves with foreign debts.

Avramovic warned that 'We should not incur debts before we realize what is really going on.'

We should continue to behave as if we were still poor, he said.

Avramovic said he believed that Yugoslav banks and firms would continue with efforts to reschedule Yugoslav foreign debts and secure capital.

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Asked to explain the unfreezing of Yugoslav capital in foreign banks, Avramovic said that explanations which had been made available to him were not official.

According to the explanations, each country could unfreeze the Yugoslav capital in compliance with its laws but, if a legal or physical person laid a claim to a part of the capital, it would remain frozen.

That means that if the amount on a cheque to be cashed in a foreign bank was claimed by somebody alleging that his interests would be harmed if this payment was realized, (and he presented proof to this effect), the funds would remain frozen until a court of the country of the bank's origin would decide on the dispute.

The explanation especially underscores that the suspension or the lifting of the sanctions does not prejudge any claim on the part of a country created after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia regarding funds and assets of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Avramovic underscored that it was necessary that the successor-states reached an accord to divide funds and assets, but also the commitments of the former Yugoslavia.

The successor-states are requested to include into their national legislations a specific regulation to adequately resolve disputable claims, he said.

Asked to comment how the suspension of the sanctions would affect the implementation of the new Yugoslav economic program (program 2), Avramovic said that he had requested the Yugoslav Government to consider immediately four issues: to determine the market rate of the dinar, propose a liberal foreign trade regime, enable the National Bank to control and govern money transactions and, finally, adopt a more liberal foreign investment legislation.

He said that the program should be introduced immediately and as a whole, adding that the fourth issue was necessary to eliminate discrimination of foreign investors.

Avramovic said that parallely, National Bank experts should propose ways for the liberalization of the foreign currency regime.

He emphasized that the most important issue was to decide if Yugoslavia would urgently develop its export economy and become a country with no foreign currency problems.

This can be achieved by the maximum engagement of capital in export deals, that is, in competitive manufacturers, Avramovic said.

Budget Readjustment To Give Army More Money

AU2511163395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 95 p 10

[Report by B. Jager: "Most Money for the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It appears that the federal government has finally been given the green light by the republics to fill its coffers by readjusting the budget. As NASA BORBA has learned, the draft adjustments to the budget have already been prepared. They could be discussed at the government's next regular session, and shortly after they could find themselves before the deputies in the federal assembly. Instead of the original 2.128 billion dinars, the federal budget should stand at 2.778 billion dinars. According to our sources, the additional 650 million dinars would be allotted in the following way: The Army of Yugoslavia would receive 361.5 million dinars; pension funds would receive 207 million dinars, the fund for disability pensions would receive 37.4 million dinars, and 44 million dinars would go to other users.

Of course, the first question is where the additional funds are going to come from. The state swears that these funds would come from real sources. Bank Governor Avramovic has recently been frequently saying that the state will not print extra money. Therefore, a significant amount of money is supposed to be found in just over a month considering that the readjusted budget cannot even theoretically be passed in the federal assembly before the end of November. The federal government is counting on getting 50 million dinars through the sale of bonds in the securities market. The rest of the money would be raised through additional taxes, custom duties, and import levies (federal and import taxes have already been raised). [passage omitted]

October Wages, Production, Expectations Detailed

AU2711181295 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The average October wage was 395 dinars, which is nominally 7 percent more than in September, but 2.4 percent lower in real terms. This was announced at a news conference held at the Market Research Institute on the effects of measures from the program of monetary system reconstruction and the country's economic recovery. Here is a report by Gordana Buncic:

[Buncic] Industrial production capacities were used in October at approximately the same volume as in September. Along with a realistic decrease in wages, this has contributed to the reduction of cost per produced

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unit. Despite a fall in current liquidity, industrial production in October increased. In fact, the functioning of industrial production capacities decreased as industrial production was based on previously received orders.

Despite a certain decrease of cost per production unit and the fall in consumers' purchasing power, October prices experienced a considerable rise. General and joint consumption experienced a mild real fall.

Regarding the prediction for the coming six months, the suspension of the sanctions will reduce the cost of mediation and transport. Duties on reproduction material and raw material will fall, which will result in both exports and imports becoming cheaper. This would also increase domestic supplies and stabilize the market and prices. The economic rise will generally be faster. Factors limiting production in the coming period will be stronger competition on eastern European markets, our technological backwardness compared to Western markets, as well as the fact that the Middle Eastern countries' markets have been closed to us for a long time.

Businessmen are suggesting a greater freedom on the market, anti-monopoly and anti-dumping regulations, a realistic exchange rate, and realistic prices for work force and capital.

Serbia

Prime Minister on Dayton Accord, Milosevic Role

LD2711211995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1732 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Raska, Nov. 27 (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic said Monday that the Dayton peace accords are of historic and fateful importance for the Yugoslav people, their present and future.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic made the biggest contribution to peace with his wise, decisive and consistent policy, Marjanovic said at an official ceremony in the southern Serbian town of Raska.

"In the period that is behind us, the citizens of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia carried a big burden and endured enormous pressure to preserve their freedom and dignity and managed to win for the Serb people equality with other peoples of the former Yugoslavia," Marjanovic said.

Marjanovic said he hoped Yugoslavia would return to normal life after the suspension of the sanctions, with open prospects for speedy development.

"Initial estimates indicate that a two-figure increase in the social product and international trade could be realized next year," Marjanovic said.

The Serbian prime minister said the new economic measures which took effect on Sunday would enable the Yugoslav economy quickly to return to international activities and compel it to operate according to modern world standards and in conditions of tough international competition.

"The objective of our economic policy in the next year is clear—to secure stable conditions for the operation of the economy, for speedier economic development, production growth, and real incomes and standard of the population," Marjanovic said.

"Incomes and prices will be formed freely, and the measures in the area of finances will be the most important ones, because we have opted for a policy of sound money and a real rate of exchange," Marjanovic said.

Milosevic, Romanian Premier Discuss Economic Ties

LD2711145495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 27 Nov 5

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu who is on an official visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, President Milosevic's office reports.

During cordial and friendly talks, both sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of mutual relations and cooperation between the FRY and Romania, based on the closeness and friendship of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples and on common interests in numerous areas in which the two countries are linked and engaged in cooperation.

Romania is sincerely happy with the lifting of sanctions against the FRY and it sees the FRY as one of its most important economic partners, the Romanian prime minister said.

It is also very important that both countries want to reach and considerably exceed the economic exchange, worth $400 million before the sanctions.

Both sides agreed that the exchange of high-level visits offers a significant impetus to the successful and dynamic development of bilateral relations and strengthens the chances for even closer links between economic units in the realization of joint economic activities. In this context, both sides particularly underlined their joint

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interest in the areas of energetics, industry, traffic, and trade.

President Milosevic and Romanian Prime Minister Vacaroiu said that the good-neighborly relations between the FRY and Romania are a reliable factor of stability and peace in the Balkan region with a clearly strong impact on the development and strengthening of equal relations between the states and the people and their participation in current integration processes in the world.

Vacaroiu Credits Milosevic

LD2711212195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 27 (TANJUG)—Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu said here Monday that the biggest credit for the initialling of the Dayton peace agreement and the suspension of the international sanctions on Yugoslavia should go to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

In talks with Serbian parliament speaker Dragan Tomic, Vacaroiu said he believes that the establishing of a peace in this region and the lifting of the sanctions would speed up the resumption of economic cooperation between Romania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serbian parliament's information service said.

Tomic said that the Dayton peace agreement is important both for Yugoslavia, all its neighbors and the entire Balkans.

Tomic said that the agreement has in fact recognized the soveriegnty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and that this is why it should return to all international instititions from where it has been unjustly eliminated.

The suspension of the sanctions has created conditions for Yugoslavia to establish comprehensive cooperation with all its neighbors, including Romania in the spheres of the power, oil and petrochemical industries, as well as transport.

UN Human Rights Monitor Arrives for Talks

AU2611184495 Paris AFP in English 1743 GMT 26 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 26 (AFP)—UN human rights rapporteur Elisabeth Rehn arrived here Sunday [26 November] for talks with Albanian minority leaders in Serbia's Kosovo province.

Rehn who will also visit Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia during her stay in the former Yugoslavia, will meet with Yugoslav Human Rights Minister Margit Savovic on Sunday, officials said.

She will be in Pristina, capital of Kosovo, Monday, where ethnic Albanians, the region's dominant ethnic group, regularly complain of repression and violence by Serbian police.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's decision to abolish Kosovo's autonomous status in 1989 and ensuing unrest in the region is widely seen as the beginning of the breakup of the old Yugoslavia.

Rehn will also visit the rebel Serb stronghold of Banja Luka in northern Bosnia where international relief organizations have criticized brutal "ethnic cleansing" against non-Serbs.

In European Union-administered Mostar, capital of southern Herzegovina, Rehn will meet with Croat and Moslem officials.

Human Rights Minister Criticizes Kosovo Militants

AU2711082995 Paris AFP in English 0225 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 27 (AFP)—A Yugoslav government minister on Sunday accused Albanian militants in the Kosovo region of "inventing" problems and said they enjoyed full minority rights.

Minister for Human Rights Margit Savovic was speaking during a meeting here with United Nations Human Rights rapporteur Elisabeth Rehn, who is to meet with Albanian community leaders from Kosovo.

Savovic said national minorities in federal Yugoslavia, now reduced to Serbia and Montenegro, are accorded rights that "far surpass" international standards, the official news agency TANJUG reported.

Rehn is expected to travel Monday to Pristina, the principal city in Kosovo, where 90 percent of the population of two million is Albanian. Militants there have been demanding independence and routinely accuse Belgrade of police repression.

Savovic charged that Albanian leaders in Kosovo have taken advantage of their rights "to internationalize all sorts of invented problems."

She said national minorities in Yugoslavia are not entitled to self-determination. The Serb provinces of Kosovo in the south and Vojvodina in the north are "autonomous territories belonging to all who live there."

"The numerical size of a minority can be neither an argument nor a screen to obtain privileges," she insisted.

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Talks on Independence for Kosovo Albanians Urged

AU2711085895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by B. Hisari: "An Equal Dialogue With the Serbian Side"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Peace is knocking on the door of the Balkans. The Kosovar issue and the hope for a peaceful future in the region have to be opened up now. These were the first assessments that Kosovar political commentators made after the peace agreement was signed. The main question here is: "How will the agreement be implemented?" It is expected with more optimism than before that the international community will pave the way for peace talks, since it is believed that the right to self-determination and independence of the Kosovar Albanians is not only their wish but also a concrete contribution to a peaceful solution to the problem, as well as to the ending of the crisis and the establishment of peace throughout the region. Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Kosovar Albanians, has been directing his political and diplomatic activity toward these problems and has announced an early visit to some west European countries and the United States. These visits follow his talks with diplomatic representatives of several countries and the Albanian demonstrations in Brussels and Dayton. The envoy Richard Holbrooke talked with the Albanian representatives there and Rudolf Perina, charge d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, said that "the Kosovar issue was not forgotten and, once the Bosnian crisis is solved, that issue has to follow suit." It is considered very important in Kosovo that Rugova's visit is planned to take place immediately prior to the preparations for the Paris and London conferences, in which the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia should be "sealed."

Mr. Bujar Bukoshi, the chairman of the Kosovar government in exile, has also been engaged in intensive international activity. His many talks with U.S. Administration officials have led him to conclude that "U.S. engagement would not end with Bosnia, but will require a complete solution to the Yugoslav crisis, including the Kosovo issue." It is thought in Kosovo that the Serbian authorities will behave triumphantly after Dayton, step up the repression, and ship even more refugees to Kosovo, which would jeopardize a peaceful solution to the problem. In certain political circles, it is thought that the time has come for the Albanian movement and its leaders to change their strategy by applying new and more active forms of resistance, but without the use of force or confrontation with the Serbs, with whom they should be starting a dialogue.

GSS Says Bosnian Partition Idea Undefeated

AU2311162695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 95 p 4

[Report by I. Kisic: "A 'Great Change of Masks' Follows"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Citizen's Association of Serbia [GSS] supports the agreement signed in Dayton. It represents a compromise between moral principles and the results of the war, GSS Vice President Zarko Korac said at a news conference yesterday. He stressed that Momcilo Krajisnik's statement that the Serb Republic delegation had not accepted the peace agreement was inappropriate and showed that part of the Bosnian Serb leadership was not aware of what was happening. "Krajisnik is rejecting responsibility. However, the hard line in the Serb Republic has already been defeated," Korac stressed. The idea of partitioning Bosnia and "humane" resettlement has still not been defeated. The democratization of Serbia and Croatia will guarantee peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Korac believes that two processes will occur in Serbia: a democratic transformation of the economy and, subsequently, tackling the issue of responsibility for the war.

"Reorganization has started on the Serbian political scene. Those who until yesterday supported Karadzic are now supporting the peace plan. Almost everyone will do this. What follows is reregistration into peaceniks," Korac said and termed this phenomenon "a great change of masks." He warned that the authorities would soon have to ask: "What will the parties that have paramilitary formations do with their 'armies'?"

GSS Vice President Stevan Lilic stressed that the main goal of the The Hague Tribunal is to avoid collective responsibility and the transformation of a political issue into a legal one. "War criminals can be tried by national courts. If they do so in an unbiased manner and if they take into account the principle of innocence, the The Hague Tribunal need not intervene," Lilic said. He added that after the lifting of the sanctions, "Serbia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and partly Montenegro will have communication problems with the world regarding the judiciary." "Our legal system is exceptionally bad and needs a lot of investment to coordinate it with the legal system of the EU," Lilic believes.

SPS Officials, Slovak HZDS Delegates Meet

AU2711183495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and the ruling party of Slovakia,

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the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], had talks in Belgrade. Good relations between the two parties were confirmed once again, and guidelines were laid down for future cooperation. Here is a report by Dejan Eric:

[Begin recording] [Eric] Following the talks, SPS Vice President Goran Percevic made the following statement:

[Percevic] This meeting represents a continuation of the cooperation that began a long time ago. These talks are taking place at the time when the sanctions against our country have disappeared, whereby a new perspective for our mutual cooperation has opened. I think that this cooperation between the two ruling parties—and this is a really high-level delegation including the HZDS deputy chairman, the head of the deputy caucus, and a presidium member—makes it possible for this cooperation between the two ruling parties to contribute to a quick, comprehensive, and diversified development of relations between the FRY and Slovakia. It was in this respect that we held the talks and agreed on some specific issues regarding the continuation of the cooperation, in which we accepted the invitation for our delegation to visit Slovakia.

[Eric] Evaluating the talks, HZDS Deputy Chairman Arpad Matejka said the following:

[Matejka in Slovak with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation] We have come to congratulate you on the successful end to the crisis on the Balkan peninsula, for the solution of which the SPS and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic are mostly to be thanked. [end recording]

Montenegro

Police Force Undergoes Major Staff Changes

AU2511194195 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 95 p 14

[Report by D. Becirovic: "Major Changes in the Montenegrin Police"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 23 Nov—There have been speculations in Podgorica about changes in the Montenegrin police for some time. Various names and cadre combinations have been mentioned.

"Forecasters" have guessed some things, some they have not. It is obvious, however, that numerous changes have been made in the past week in certain places in the police apparatus in Montenegro, especially in that out in the field. Almost all leading people in the municipal centers for state security have been changed or moved. Certain changes have also been made in some security centers throughout Montenegro. [passage omitted]

There will probably be more changes. One key post remains vacant in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Montenegro, that of the assistant minister for public security. Dragan Braunovic, federal deputy and head of the Federal Assembly's Committee for Defense Issues, has been mentioned as a candidate for this post.

New Bills Affect Authority

AU2111150095 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 95 pp 16-17

[Commentary by Drasko Djuranovic: "Powerful Federal Rangers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new U.S.-made uniforms that the Montenegrin police took great pride in earlier this spring were not—as some thought at first—a herald of new relations in the two-member federation. Although some popular Belgrade dailies rushed to accuse the Montenegrin Government and its prime minister of factual separatism, of creating a state within the state, it became clear that the change was solely of an esthetic nature. In the middle of the year, the Federal Interior Ministry had already prepared a series of legislations underscoring the dominant role of the federal police in the functioning of the modern federation.

Most probably by the end of the year, the federal assembly deputies will be presented with three bills regarding internal affairs: the Bill on Passage Control and Security at State Borders, the Bill on Issuing of Passports to Yugoslav Citizens, and the Bill on Permanent Residence of Foreign Citizens.

There is no doubt that these bills will be passed by a majority vote in the Federal Assembly. By their adoption, the unitarist concept, at least as far as interior affairs are concerned, will be completed. Thus, one year from the adoption of the Bill on Passage Control and Security at State Borders, the Montenegrin border passages will be quite legally taken over and controlled by the federal MUP [Interior Ministry] without any direct cooperation with the republican police. "The control of passage across the state border—that is, performed by the republican MUP until the law's coming into effect—will be taken over by the federal MUP," reads the text of the explanation of the bill. However, it seems that the federal police were not quite satisfied, because in addition to taking over the aforementioned duties, the federal MUP "in a fashion prescribed by the federal government will take over the buildings, equipment, and entire furnishings." By a single move, customs duties collected at the Montenegrin border passages will be transferred directly to the federal fund.

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This innovation seriously calls into question the well-known resourcefulness of the Montenegrin state in the field of gray economy. It is known that Belgrade does not approve of Djukanovic's form of self-financing of Montenegro, of course, for fear that such a practice could be an initial syndrome of the future political independence. It is logical to wonder whether the new, federal authorities will approvingly look at Montenegro's cigarette business with Italy, or the smuggling of oil and oil derivatives across Skadar Lake, or that, perhaps, in case of Montenegro they will call for consistent observance of lawful state and thereby halt (il)legal infusion that is keeping the Montenegrin economy alive at least to a degree.

Montenegro's linking with its neighbors—that is, its joining the European economic flows—will have to pass through a federal filter. "Border passages shall be established by the federal government following a proposal of the federal minister for interior," reads the bill. It has to be admitted that, while formulating this bill, one continued with the practice of ignoring the Montenegrin interests at the federal level. That is, in Serbia over the past two years, several border passages have been opened, following the demand of the Serbian Government. However, when Montenegrin economic and state interests are concerned, the approach is considerably different. In one of many drawers in Kontic's cabinet, the official request of the Montenegrin Government for opening of the border passage at Sukobine by Ulcinj has been languishing for more than a year. The authorities have obviously assessed that a single coastal border passage (the port of Bar) is quite sufficient to meet Montenegro's needs, so the request has not been considered at all.

Perhaps the most liberal of the three legislations aforementioned is the Bill on Passports for Yugoslav Citizens. The bill concerning the issue of passports and visas anticipates several new things that would make the procedure quicker and easier. It is proposed that the time span within which the authorities are obliged to process an application for issuing of a passport should be reduced to 15 days at the longest (before it used to be 30 days) and that an application can be made by mail, and not solely in person, as was the case before. However, starting with the basic principles of the Zabljak constitution, this legislation is transferring important state affairs from the republican to the federal level. Motives are not of political, but, according to the authorities, of solely economic nature: It is about a sort of rational use of human and other resources and the continuous modernization of work methodology. The architects of the legislation have anticipated that within one year after the adoption of the bill, the federal police will take over the entire control over the issue of passports and visas.

The Bill on Permanent Residence of Foreign Citizens determines to details the procedure of their arrival, movement and staying in the two-member federation. The architects of the legislation are emphasizing, not without pride, that the solutions proposed are in agreement with corresponding international standards. It seems that our attorneys have gone a step further from their European standards, so it has been made possible for our citizens to have very close, almost intimate relations with our police, particularly in the field of cooperation in observation and registering of foreigners who arrive in our region. Relations are quite intensive, and people are obliged, according to the bill, to report the visit of any (un)expected foreign guest to the authorities in charge of foreigners (meaning the federal police) within 12 hours after the foreigner's accommodation—that is, the foreigner's arrival. After having reported the visit, the host is obliged to get better acquainted with the guest, because the lawmaker has anticipated a responsible duty for him—"to keep records on foreigners, whom he has provided with lodging." True, the law does not state precisely what is meant by record keeping, but one should not doubt that all unclear things will be clarified through direct and frequent communication between the host and the police.

It is not known what penal measures have been anticipated if those procedures are not observed, but there is no doubt that the well-equipped police, both in terms of technical means and cadre, has many ways to find and punish unconscientious citizens.

It seems that the federal legislators are convinced that the crisis in the Balkans will soon be over, so they are employing their entire energy to cement the two-member federation. After the persistent and orchestrated negation of the cultural and national identity of Montenegrins, the project has entered the final phase, which is the denial of concrete prerogatives of the Montenegrin statehood. With a series of legislations that are being expeditiously prepared, under the guise of "more efficient and rational functioning of the federation," Montenegro is being deprived step by step of key functions in the joint state. As far as the republican police is concerned, everything is over: When the three bills come into force, the Montenegrin police will be relieved of its responsibilities in implementing the state policy. It will not be able to issue passports or visas, or control the state border, and it will also have to give up its favorite pastime—observation of foreign elements—to the federal police. In addition to criminal offenses, all it will remain in charge of is traffic and the selection of new uniforms.

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Kosovo

Bukoshi: Dayton Agreement Has Not Ended Crisis

AU2511203895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with the Belgian state news agency BELGA, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi stressed that the Dayton agreement has not put an end to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. At present, the greatest problem is the Kosova issue, which has not been treated simultaneously with the other problems. In his interview, Bukoshi stressed that we are dissatisfied with the concessions made to the Serbian terrorist state and fear that this state will be encouraged and will behave more aggressively toward Albanians in Kosova, after the suspension of sanctions against Serbia, as the only means of pressure by the international community.

Reiterating the demand to establish dialogue between the Belgrade government and the legitimate representatives of Kosova with a mediation of a third party, as well as the establishment of an international protectorate in Kosova, Prime Minister Bukoshi spoke about the necessity of Kosova's independence as an uninterrupted process.

Expressing his disapproval with the status of an autonomy for Kosova, in this interview Dr. Bukoshi mentioned the desperate experiences from the past, when Kosova had such a status in the former Yugoslav federation. Yugoslavia no longer exists. That is why the will of the Albanian people for the independence of the Republic of Kosova should be respected, Kosovar Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi said in an interview for the BELGA news agency.

Commentary Details Rising Tensions in Kosovo

AU2811112295 Paris AFP in English 0524 GMT 28 Nov 95

[Commentary by Ibrahim Osmani]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Nov 28 (AFP)—Albanians in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo are unhappy with the U.S.-brokered Balkan peace accord, which calls for a solution to their dispute with Belgrade but makes no provision for international involvement.

Tension in the province, where 90 percent of the population of two million is Albanian, has been on the rise since 1989 when Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic suppressed Albanian demands for autonmy.

Tens of thousands of federal policemen have been deployed in Kosovo and clashes with local residents—sometines fatal—have been frequent.

Intensely hostile to federal Yugoslavia, which is now reduced to Serbia and Montenegro, Albanian militants in Kosovo no longer seek autonomy but full independence.

Serbian authorites have cracked down hard on local secessionists. The human rights committee in Pristina, Kosovo's leading city, has said that since 1990 more than 500 Albanians have been sentenced to prison terms of several years for political reasons.

The Kosovo Democratic League under Ibrahim Rugova routinely accuses police of having carried out "arrests, persecution and torture" of Albanians in Kosovo.

The U.S. peace agreement, initialled earlier this month in Dayton, Ohio by Milosevic and the presidents of Bosnia and Croatia, vaguely links the lifting of political sanctions against Belgrade to a "solution" in Kosovo.

The measures were imposed by the United Nations in 1991 on grounds that the Serbian Republic was backing secessionist Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

For Belgrade, Kosovo is the considered "the cradle of Serbian history" and must remain a part of the republic.

In July 1993 a team from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, charged with monitoring human rights, was forced to leave Serbia after condemning what it said was "increasing repression" of the Albanian community by Serbian authorities.

Rugova, "president" of the self-styled Kosovo Republic clandestinely proclaimed in September 1992, has sought to apply pressure on the international community in his quest for independence.

Last week he urged that Kosovo appear on the agenda of all future conferences on ex-Yugoslavia.

He called for "an independent, neutral Kosovo, equally open to Albania and Serbia" and under "international protection."

The immediate suspension of an international trade embargo on Serbia, approved by the United Nations just after the Dayton accord, "rewards the aggressive policies of Slobodan Milosevic," he charged.

Serbia should not be welcomed back into international institutions as long as the issue of Kosovo remains unresolved, Rugova insisted.

On Sunday, Yugoslav Minister for Human Rights Margit Savovic declared that national minorities in federal Yugoslavia do not enjoy "the right to self-determination."

She argued that the Albanians of Kosovo have been accorded rights that "far surpass" international standards

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and accused separatisits of "inventing" problems to internationalize their campaigm.

Vojvodina

Leader of Association of Hungarians Dies

LD2711121295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians, has died. The leader of one of the political organizations of the Hungarians in Serbia suffered a serious accident last week when his car crashed into an unlit truck.

A Hungarian professor, together with local colleagues, attempted brain surgery on him, but even that could not save him.

Ferenc Csubela died this morning without regaining consciousness

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